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VOLUME 94—NEW SERIES

MANCHESTER :
Printed for the Chetham Society
1935

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CHETHAM MISCELLANIES

NEW SERIES. VOL. VI

CONTAINING

THE COWCHER BOOK OF FURNESS ABBEY: TRANSCRIPT
OF THE LOST FOLIO 70.

Communicated by CYRIL T. FLOWER, M.A., F.S.A.

ON A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY YORK MISSAL FORMERLY
USED AT BROUGHTON-IN-AMOUNDERNESS.

By FRANCIS C. EELES.

THE RECTORS AND DEANS OF MANCHESTER PRIOR TO
THE COLLEGIATION OF THE PARISH CHURCH IN 1421.

By ERNEST AXON, F.S.A.

THE COURT LEET OR PORTMOOT RECORDS OF SALFORD,
1735-1738.

Edited by JAMES TAIT, LITT.D., F.B.A.

SCOTISH FFEILDE.

Edited by J. P. OAKDEN, M.A., PH.D.

THE
Cowcher Book of Furness Abbey

TRANSCRIPT OF THE LOST FOLIO 70
PRESENTED BY MR. W. NORTH OF
FULHAM TO THE PUBLIC RECORD
OFFICE IN SEPTEMBER 1930.

COMMUNICATED BY
CYRIL T. FLOWER, M.A., F.S.A.
Secretary of The Public Record Office.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

1935.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE,
CHANCERY LANE, W.C.2.

15 January, 1931.

DEAR SIR,—

You will recollect that the Furness Cowcher Book printed by your Society (nos. 9, 11, 14, 74, 76 and 78) is a volume which has suffered a great deal of mutilation in the past. One of the missing folios was recently presented to this Office by Mr. W. North of Fulham and will be inserted in its place when the volume is rebound.¹

You may therefore be glad to have a transcript of it for circularizing to members of your Society. I enclose one made in accordance with the principles of transcription followed in the volume in question and another with spelling revised in accordance with present usage.²

The circumstances in which the missing folio was restored were described in the "Times" of 15 September, 1930.

Yours faithfully,

C. T. FLOWER,

Secretary.

The Secretary,
Chetham Society,
Manchester.

¹ See Chetham Society, N.S., Vol. 9, p. 181, where the loss of this folio is noted. Its contents are detailed in the *Tabula Sententialis* or Descriptive Index (fo. 9) which precedes the charters (*Ibid.*, p. 29).

² The present usage is here adopted.



Extract from "The Times" of 15 September 1930.

FURNESS COWCHER BOOK.

LOST PAGE RESTORED AFTER CENTURIES.

Among the interesting contents of the Museum-at the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane, is a folio spread open in a glass case with double columns of beautiful old writing and illuminated capital letters, in blue, red and gold, beginning in many cases with the names of Kings of England and enclosing a representation of the Royal Arms in the midst of the design. This volume, the Furness Cowcher Book, is a Register mainly written about 1412 in which were entered charters and other documents relating to Furness Abbey and its property.

It has not survived to the present day without injury and the Museum authorities have just had the satisfaction of being able to put back into its place in the volume a leaf which has probably been missing from it for at least two and a half centuries. The restoration is due to the generosity of Mr. W. North, who bought it some years ago from a second-hand bookseller in Brighton, together with other manuscripts, in a miscellaneous portfolio. A note written at the foot of the leaf, makes a brief contribution to a knowledge of its past ownership:—
"Richardus Julius mihi donabat Decembro (*sic*) anno

1786, Henry George Oldfield"—but nothing is known of what happened to the leaf after 1786 until it reached the Brighton bookseller, or of the stages by which it came into the possession of Mr. Julius.

The Cowcher Book itself was, at the dissolution of the Abbey in 1537, sent with other Abbey muniments to Thomas Cromwell. After the annexation of the Abbey lands to the Duchy of Lancaster, the muniments were kept at the offices of the Duchy in London where they were consulted by many generations of historians until 1868, when the Duchy Archives were transferred to the Public Record Office.

Though the Cowcher Book has been in continuous official custody, it has not always been under watchful care. Some leaves have been wholly or partly torn away and illuminated initial letters have been cut out. Leaf edges have also been gnawed by rats and mice. Most of the damage seems to have been done at an early date, probably in the 16th century. In some cases, capital letters which had been cut out were pasted back again, and the fact is noted in Elizabethan hand-writing. It is thought that the leaf which has just been restored to its place may have been taken out later than the illuminated capitals, as the volume has been numbered three times, and the restored leaf bears all the numbers.

FIVE ROYAL CHARTERS.

On the previous page was the earlier part of a charter by John, Earl of Mortain, conceding his special protection to Furness Abbey. The restored leaf con-

tains the latter part of this charter, which secures the Abbot and Convent from being summoned to plead in any local matter in any save the Earl's own Court at Lancaster. It also gives five Royal Charters, two by Richard the First, one by John and two by one of the Henrys, all confirming some exemption or protection.

The illuminated capital letters on the recovered leaf accordingly comprise, two R's, one J and two H's. The leaf is well preserved, but those who see it as it is now preserved at the Museum, in its proper place in the book, will notice that it is different in tone from the adjoining page. Exposure during its long existence outside the volume, has given it a darker tinge.

The present cover of the Cowcher Book is an inferior one of the late 18th century. The Repairing Department of the Public Record Office will shortly take in hand the work of repairing and rebinding the volume.

TRANSCRIPT OF THE LOST FO. 70 OF THE FURNESS
COWCHER BOOK, MADE BY L. C. HECTOR, B.A.,
ASSISTANT KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

[70] ita quod nullam injuriam vel contumeliam eis faciatis ¹
neque ab aliquo fieri permittatis, set si quis eis in aliquo super hoc
preceptum meum forisfacere presum[p]serit plenariam inde justiciam
sine dilacione eis faciatis. Et prohibeo ne de aliquo tene-
mento suo quod teneant in dominico suo respondeant nisi coram
me. Testibus *Rob. de Bretoil: Teobaldo [filio] Walt: Will. de Vuckecot,*
apud *Bureford.*

[EXEMPTION FROM TOLL AND CUSTOMS GRANTED BY KING RICHARD
I TO FURNESS ABBEY. Dated 23 April (1194 ?)].

Rex Ricardus quietat nos ubicumque de teloneo ², de pass-
agio, de pontagio, de stallagio, de lestagio et de
omni alia consuetudine. 38.

Ricardus Dei gratia Rex Anglorum etc. salutem. Precipimus
quod homines et equi et omnes res et possessiones *Abbacie Sancte
Marie de F[urnesio]* et monachorum ibidem Deo servientium sint
quieti de teloneo et passagio et pontagio et stallagio et lestagio et
omni alia consuetudine, quocumque venerint et ubicumque aliquid
vendiderint vel emerint sive duci aliquid fecerint per terram vel
per mare ad usus proprios. Teste *H[ugone], Dunelm. Episcopo,*
xxiii[^o] die Aprilis apud *Winton.*

¹ *Faceatis.*

² *Teleneo.*

[CHARTER BY KING RICHARD I, GRANTING HIS SPECIAL PROTECTION TO FURNESS ABBEY. Dated 10 Sept. [1194-8].¹]

**Idem Ricardus Rex suscipit nos et omnia bona
nostra in sua manu et protectione ut declar-
atur in sequenti. 39.**

[70 col. 2] *Ricardus* De[i] gratia *Rex Anglorum*, etc. salutem. Noveritis nos suscepisse in manum nostram custodiam et protectionem nostram domum et monachos de *F[urnesio]* et omnes possessiones et pasturas suas [et] omnia ad domum illam pertinentia. Et ideo vobis mandamus et firmiter precipimus quod domum ipsam et omnes monachos et res et possessiones et pasturas suas manuteneatis, custotiat[is] et protegatis nullam eis molestiam, injuriam aut gravamen inferentes vel inferri permittentes. Si quis autem eis molestiam intulerit aut gravamen, sine dilacione illud eis faciatis emendari. Teste meipso, apud *Longum Campum*, x^o die Septembris.

[CHARTER OF KING JOHN, GRANTING HIS PROTECTION TO FURNESS ABBEY. Dated 28 March 1200.]

**Rex Johannes suscipit nos et omnia nostra in
sua protectione. 40.**

Johannes Dei gratia *Rex Anglie*, etc. salutem. Sciatis quod *Abbacia de F[urnesio]* et Abbas et monachi ibidem servientes Deo et Sancte Marie et omnes tenure et possessiones sue sunt in manu nostra et custodia et proteccione. Et ideo volum[us] et firmiter precipimus quod eam et Abbatem et monachos predictos² et omnia tenementa sua et omnes res suas sicut nostras dominicas custodiatis et [70^b] manuteneatis³ et protegatis ita quod nullam in-

¹ This is Dy. Lanc. Royal Charters, 48 (printed in Chetham Soc., No. 78, p. 740, but there described as No. 38).

² *Predictis*.

³ *Manuteniatis*.

juriam¹ vel contumeliam eis faciatis neque ab aliquo fieri permittatis set siquis eis in aliquo super hoc preceptum nostrum forisfacere presumpserit plenariam inde justiciam sine dilacione eis faciatis.² Et prohibemus ne de aliquo tenemento suo quod teneant in dominico suo alicui respondeant nisi coram nobis sicut carta *Regis Henr.*, patris nostri, racionabiliter testatur. Testibus *Gaufrid.*, *Ebor. Arch[i]episcopo*, etc. Datum per manum *Simonis, Archidiaconi Welley*, et *Johannis de Gray*, apud *Doncaster*, xxviii[^o] die Marcii Regni nostri anno primo.

[EXEMPTION FROM TOLL AND CUSTOMS IN CERTAIN PORTS GRANTED
BY KING HENRY II TO FURNESS ABBEY. Dated 1154-61.]

Henricus Rex exonerat nos et nostros de teloneo,³ passagio, pontagio et de omni alia consuetudine in certis portibus maris, etc. 41.

Henricus Rex Anglorum et Dux Norm., et Aquit., Comes And., Justiciariis, Baronibus vicecomitibus et omnibus ministris totius Anglie et Norm. et portuum maris, et nominatim de Hampt. et de Hasting. et de Dovra et de Barbeflet et de Kaem et de Ostreham et de Diopa, salutem. Precipio quod homines et equi et omnes res Abbacie de F[urnesio] et monachorum ibidem Deo serviencium sint quieti de theloneo⁴ et de passagio et de pontagio et omni alia consuetudine, quocumque venerint, et [70^b col. 2] nullus eos injuste vexet nec disturbet super x libras forisfacture. Testibus Theob., Cant. Archiepiscopo: Rob., Linc. Episcopo, etc. apud Londonias.

¹ Injuream.

² Faceatis.

³ Teleneo.

⁴ Theoleneo.

[CHARTER BY KING HENRY II GRANTING HIS SPECIAL PROTECTION
TO FURNESS ABBEY.]

**Henricus Rex suscipit nos et nostra in sua manu custodia
et protectione, ut patet per scriptum subsequens. 42.**

Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglorum et Dux Norm. et Aquit. et Comes And., Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, etc. salutem. Sciatis quod Abbacia de F[urnesio] et monachi ibidem servientes Deo et Sancte Marie et omnes tenure et possessiones sue sunt in manu mea et custodia et protectione. Et ideo volo et firmiter precipio quod eam et Abbatem et monachos predictos et omnia tenementa sua et omnes res suas sicut meas dominicas custodiatis et manuteneatis ¹ et protegatis, ita quod nullam injuriam vel contumeliam eis faciatis neque ab aliquo fieri permittatis, set si quis eis in aliquo super hoc preceptum meum forisfacere presumpserit plenariam inde justiciam sine dilacione eis faciatis. Et prohibeo ne de aliquo tenemento suo quod teneant in dominico suo alicui respondeant nisi coram me. Testibus Rob. filio Bern: Gaufr. de Pertico: et Gerardo de Canvilla, apud Wodest.

[EXEMPTION FROM TOLL AND CUSTOMS GRANTED BY KING HENRY
II TO FURNESS ABBEY.]

**Rex Henricus quietat nos et nostros de teloneo et de
passagio, pontagio, etc. 43.**

¹ *Manuteneatis.*

ON A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY
YORK MISSAL
FORMERLY USED AT
BROUGHTON-IN-AMOUNDERNESS,
LANCASHIRE

BY
FRANCIS C. EELES

MANCHESTER
PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY

1935

ON A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY YORK MISSAL FORMERLY USED IN THE CHURCH OF BROUGHTON-IN- AMOUNDERNESS.

OUR evidence for the liturgical uses of the north-west parts of England in mediæval times is peculiarly scanty. Any discovery which throws light, however little, on the actual practice of a church in Lancashire is therefore of some importance. Thanks to the kindness of the owner, Colonel Butler-Bowden of Pleasington Hall, it is now possible to describe an early fifteenth-century York missal formerly in use in the ancient church or chapel of Broughton-in-Amounderness. The book has an additional interest in that it contains a number of memoranda relating to local families and recording gifts to the church.

Broughton-in-Amounderness was anciently one of the parochial chapels in the great mother parish of Preston. Lying north of the Ribble, it is in that part of Lancashire which until 1541 was in the archdeaconry of Richmond and the diocese of York. That the York rite should have been in use there is not surprising. But the use of York, though well established in that enormous diocese, had not the uniformly undisputed sway that the use of Sarum had in most other parts of England, at any rate latterly. Even in and near York itself, the use of Sarum penetrated.¹ And one of the most interesting features of this book is an entry which records that one Nicholas Walmysleye gave to Broughton two vestments "with a masse boke of Saroume use." This was probably in the early part of the sixteenth century. Dr. Henderson, in the edition of the York missal printed by the Surtees Society, gives several instances of Salisbury books in the diocese of York. But on the other hand there is evidence that the use of York was actually followed in some places in the north of England beyond the limits of York diocese.

In 1286 the College of Chester-le-Street and in 1292 that of St. Andrew, Bishop Auckland, were ordered by their founder, Anthony Beck, bishop of Durham (formerly a canon of Lincoln), to follow *modum psalterii secundum usum Eborum vel Salesberie*, and this order

¹ There is some reason to believe that the use of Sarum was followed in the diocese of Durham: it was certainly followed all over the mainland of Scotland, so far as our evidence goes.

was repeated by Thomas Langley, bishop of Durham in 1428. In 1323 William Merton, archbishop of York, recommended the Augustinian canons of Hexham, also in the diocese of Durham, to adopt *usum ecclesie nostre Ebor.* South of the Ribble, Lancashire was in the huge Mercian diocese of Coventry and Lichfield and in the province of Canterbury. Between 1420 and 1447 William Heyworth, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, ordered the use of Sarum to be followed in his cathedral church of Lichfield, and all the evidence we have points to Sarum use having been followed in that diocese. In 1410 the Collegiate church of St. Bartholomew, Tong, and in 1444 that of St. Mary Magdalen, Battlefield, both in Shropshire, were required by their foundation statutes to observe the use and ordinal of Sarum. Dr. Henderson quotes a will, "*Lego ecclesiae meae de Prestecott unum Portiphorium magnum notatum usus Sarum,*" which indicates that the use of Sarum was followed in the area which now forms the diocese of Liverpool.

That the book we are considering was used at Broughton-in-Amounderness admits of no reasonable doubt. It would be too much to say that it was actually prepared for that church. Of this there is no evidence. But the various memoranda added many years after the date of the manuscript show that it was in use there at the end of the fifteenth century and during the first half of the sixteenth.

There are many Broughtons in England: the church of the one to which this book belonged was dedicated in the name of All Hallows. At first it seemed as if the church indicated must be Broughton-in-Craven, as that is the only Broughton in the north of England now regarded as under this patronage. But the notes refer to church lands in Haighton and Goosnargh and the persons they mention belong to families connected with Broughton-in-Amounderness. Now the church of this Broughton appears in all the lists as that of St. John Baptist. Evidently this is either a long-standing mistake or else it is a case where the dedication of the church has been subsequently changed, for it is impossible to set aside the evidence of the possession of this book by Broughton-in-Amounderness. And the references it contains to the dedication of the church are perfectly clear.

The manuscript is on 270 leaves of vellum of normal character, and is a volume some 3 inches thick, and in its original binding of boards covered with pigskin without ornament or marking of any kind. The leaves measure $11\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches. There are two columns containing 34 lines on each page, but only 24 in the canon, while the section containing the sequences at the end contains 43 lines. The writing and illumination are characteristic of the early part of the fifteenth century. There are some good illuminated initials and borders with the crisp conventional foliage familiar in English work of

the period. There must have been a crucifixion scene facing *Te igitur* on the *verso* of a leaf which is now gone. With this exception and that of a few leaves of the sequences at the end, the book appears to be complete. Two leaves are displaced; the November-December leaf of the kalendar is now between February and March, and the last two leaves of the book are in the reverse order.

The contents are: kalendar, temporale to Whitsuntide, ordinary and canon, temporale from Trinity Sunday onwards, sanctorale, common and votive masses including marriage service; sequences. The liturgical use is that of York. Comparison with the York missal printed by the late Dr. Henderson for the Surtees Society (vols. 59 and 60, 1872-4) shows that the text is almost identical with that of the late mediæval printed missals, save that the rubrics in the manuscript are rather shorter. There are none of the variations printed by Dr. Henderson from the manuscripts which he collated. We may therefore conclude that the text of the York printed missals represents what had become stabilized and uniform for a considerable time. It has not been possible to collate the whole of the manuscript, but no variations of any significance have been found. The ordinary and canon are identical with the printed text, save that the canon here has scarcely any rubrics: there is one for the elevation of the chalice, though not for the elevation of the host. It may be suggested that the manuscript belongs to a time when the elevation of the host had long been customary, but when that of the chalice had only recently come into use. The marriage service with few and short rubrics is prefixed to the bridal mass. The latter is the same as in the printed text. The liturgical forms of the marriage service are the same as in the York Manual edited by Dr. Henderson for the Surtees Society, but the preliminary rubric summarizes the questions in the manner found in earlier books before these forms became fixed. It is as follows:—

In celebracione nupciarum. Sacerdos prius inquiret diligenter de sponso et sponsa ¹ qui fuit si per entela intersit ¹ uel affinitas. Si inerit sacramentum fidei uel iuramenti ille cum alia vel alia cum illo. et dicat. Vis hanc in sponsam sanam et egram seruare. et econtra. Si nulla obstiterint legatur dos et martagium ². Postea detur femina si puella est cooperta manu si vidua tecta. Accipiens eam dicat. Accipio te cum dei fide et mea in meam uxorem tenend[am] et habendam ex nunc de cetero pro pulcriori et deformiori pro peiore et meliori pro sana et pro egra quousque mors nos separauerit.

Benediccio anuli ante ostium templi ubi super scutum uel librum mittatur argentum et anulus.

¹ The text is evidently corrupt.

² ? = mariagium.

The service proceeds as in the Manual : after the prayer *Respice domine de celo* comes the rubric :

Tunc aspergantur et introducantur in ecclesia et prostratis illis ante altare dicat sacerdos

Beati omnes . . .

The rest of the service follows as in the Manual.

In the kalendar the only additional commemoration is St. Sytha on 27th April. The feast of dedication is not entered. The Conversion of St. Paul, the feast of relics, and St. Andrew are added in a late cursive hand, no doubt in consequence of their having been originally omitted by inadvertence.

There is no proper for St. Chad in the sanctorale ; that of St. Peter is in its normal order as in the printed text. The proper for the masses *Contra paganos* and *Pro salute animalium* occur as printed by Dr. Henderson from MSS., though not in the printed missals. The sequences are gathered together at the end of the book : they are wanting after the early part of *Veni sancte spiritus* on Saturday after Whitsunday, save for those contained in two leaves of the sanctorale which include from St. John ante Portam Latinam to the third day in the octave of St. William of York.

At the end of the Sanctorale have been added in a cursive hand the collect, secret and postcommunion *Pro speciali amico* as in the Sarum Missal (ed. F. H. Dickinson, Burntisland, 1861-83, cols. 813, 814). This may possibly have been done after the church received the gift of the Sarum missal already alluded to.

The collects *pro Papa* have been crossed out, but not the masses for St. Thomas of Canterbury nor his name in the kalendar. But in the canon *rege* is substituted for *papa* and the original *rege* is erased.

There is an early nineteenth-century armorial book-plate inscribed " J. Butler-Bowden, Pleasington Hall."

We now turn to the various notes and memoranda in different cursive hands added in the kalendar and in unoccupied spaces in the book in the latter part of the fifteenth century and in the early years of the sixteenth. These are in many ways of as much interest as the book itself.

Although the possession of a Norman font at Broughton proves that it had baptismal rights since the twelfth century, the incumbent is referred to as *capellanus ecclesie parochialis* and as parish priest and not as *vicarius* or vicar. One such incumbent, Edward Ball, figures prominently. He entered in the margin of the missal a copy of his own certificate of ordination as priest by Richard (Oldham), bishop of Sodor, abbot of St. Werburg, Chester, in the conventual church

there on 2nd September 1481, under letters dimissory, to the title of Burscough Priory, near Ormskirk.

In this connection we may note that in 1295 the Prior of the Augustinians at Burscough was empowered by Pope Boniface VIII to nominate six canons, even *etate minores*, provided they are over twenty years of age, to be promoted by any bishop to sacred orders and to minister in them lawfully.¹ It seems as if Ball was a canon of Burscough, seeing that he was ordained to this title.

Ball was appointed to Broughton the same year, for a gift to the church by him in 1500 is recorded as being in the nineteenth year of his serving the cure.

This gift is very interesting: Ball is described as giving *perticam ferream pendentem in alto choro coram altare in honore omnium sanctorum*. *Pertica ferrea* means an iron rod or bar. Presumably this was to hold lights. We come across something of the same kind at the chapel of Farnworth in the parish of Prescott near Liverpool.

In the Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings,² 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, Richard Bolde and Miles Gerarde, informants for the King and Queen, charged John Woodfull, a warden of the chapel of Farnworth, with the detention and embezzlement of "a Rancke of iron used for lights before the Holy Sacrament in Farnworth chapel." Among depositions ordered to be taken are the following questions³:—

Interrogations to [be] mynystred one the partie and behalf of John Woodfull:—

1. Imp^rmis whether do you know the Chapell of Farnworth wthin the Countie of Lanc(aster) or not.
2. Itm whether you know that there was a Ranke of Iron reaching over the Chauncell in the chapell of Farnworth or not.
3. Itm whether Henry Walker was churchwarden at the tyme of the taking awaye of the said Ranncke of Iron.
4. Itm whether the said John Woodfull doeth deteyne or wthhold in his hands one great Rancke of Iron curiously wroughte worth in value viij^{li}.
5. Itm whether the said Woodfull doeth deteyne or wthhold iij other Rannckes of Iron Curiously wroght worthe in value iij^{li}.
6. Itm whether John Woodfull the yonger sonne to the said John Woodfull the elder dyd take out of the Rood lofte wthin the Chapell of Farneworth the forsaid iij Rannckes or Convey or take them awaye from the said Chapell or not.

¹ *Victoria County History of Lancashire*, vol. ii, p. 149.

² Vol. ii, pp. 178 sq.

³ *Miscell.*, vol. xx, R 23; *Cal.* ii, p. 205.

7. Itm whether the said John Woodfull the elder dyd put the forsaid gret Ranncke to his owne use or to the use of the said Chapell.
8. Itm whether John Woodfull the elder dyd paye or dely'ur to the churchwardens to the use of the said Chapell ijs ij^d for that part and porcon of the said Ranncke being xxvj^l of iron in weight by the said John taken.¹

From all this we gather that the "rancke of iron" was "great," that it was "curiously wrought," that it was "reaching over the chauncell," that it was used for lights before the holy Sacrament, and that it was worth the large sum for those days of eight pounds. There were also three other "ranckes," also curiously wrought, in the rood loft, smaller and worth only three pounds.

Apparently the ornament described was some kind of large and elaborate iron frame for candles. The Latin word *peritica* in the Broughton missal suggests something long and straight, but the more common form taken by a lighting appliance of this kind was circular: such was the trendall or rowell frequently met with in inventories.

An examination of the Edwardian inventories for Lancashire does not help us: even that for Farnworth does not specify this ornament. But Edwardian inventories are notoriously lacking in many ornaments the churches must have possessed. It cannot be too often repeated that they were taken "for as much as the King's Majestie hath neede presently of a masse of mooney."² And a careful examination of the Lancashire returns suggests that, as was so frequently the case, there must have been extensive and systematic hiding of the church valuables among the parishioners. In the nineteenth century there was a marked tendency, often dictated by controversial motives, to read the Puritanism of a later period back into Edwardian times. The repudiation of the papal supremacy and even the suppression of religious houses may well have had more or less widespread popularity, varying no doubt in different districts. But save in a very few limited areas like London, the attack on the valuables of parish churches had no support. It was not until after Mary's Spanish match and her persecutions, coupled with the return of exiles from Switzerland, that the Puritanism, so widespread at a later date, became at all popular. The parish accounts of Morebath, on the Exmoor edge of North Devon, naively and rather fully written by a vicar who lived through the whole of the earlier reformation movement, tell us how the church ornaments were spread about among the parishioners for their safety. If we read the meagre Edwardian inventory of the great collegiate

¹ qu. *Inventories of Goods in the Churches and Chapels of Lancashire taken in the year 1552*, ed. J. Eglington Bailey, pt. ii, Chetham Soc. 1888, p. 85.

² *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, N.S. iii (1550-1552), p. 228.

church of Manchester, which before the building of Liverpool cathedral was the principal church in all Lancashire, we are forced to the conclusion that it gives us no real idea of the ornaments possessed by that wealthy establishment.

We may perhaps conclude then that the *pertica* given by the old parish priest to Broughton and the curiously wrought and costly "rancke" at Farnworth may have been not uncommon ornaments in Lancashire churches. And it seems quite possible from the names *pertica* and "rancke" that they were not circular *coronae*, but long straight hanging wrought-iron bars, more or less decorated, to hold candles in a row.

The mention of a lamp before the rood suggests that the *pertica* was used for lights before the high altar, as indeed its place in *alto choro* suggests, and as was the case at Farnworth, where the lights upon it were before the reserved Sacrament. In mediæval times practice varied greatly as to this. In some areas, e.g. Northamptonshire, we find in wills bequests to the light before the reserved Sacrament with great frequency. On the other hand, in the wealthy county of Somerset there are few bequests of the kind, and the light most constantly supported by testators is that before the high cross or rood. Generally it would seem that this developed first, and was the more general, the light before the reserved Sacrament becoming usual at a later date and more particularly in certain areas. In this case it is very difficult to say which came first.

The rest of the ornaments belonging to the church are in no way unusual. The "holle vestment" may have included a good deal more than chasuble, stole, maniple and the five apparels for amice and albe: sometimes this expression was used for a complete set of vestments for the three sacred ministers, or even to include altar hangings. The superaltar was of course a small consecrated altar stone, large enough for the chalice and paten to stand on, placed upon an unconsecrated altar. The "canope with a pixide" probably indicates a tent or bell-shaped silk canopy suspended over the pyx for reserving the eucharist as it hung above the high altar. The word "case" in connection with the chalice means a box, very likely of stamped leather; in connection with the corporax (= corporas or corporal) it means what is now usually called a burse. "A nauter clothe" of course is an altar-cloth, probably of linen. The "clothe for to howsyll with" is the long linen cloth spread before the communicants. The "croc (= cross) cloth ther to" in connection with the processional cross is a small banner that was very commonly hung upon it. The "clothe to hyng a for the auter" was a frontal.

An interesting entry in the kalendar tells us that the new stone cross in Broughton churchyard was finished on 13th November 1512 in the thirty-second year of the incumbency of Edward Ball. In the

same year, it is added, the images of SS. Katharine, Margaret, Nicholas, James and Syth were "reparolyt and payntyd" through his counsel and help. The three steps of the cross, of grit stone, plain, and square in plan still remain in Broughton churchyard.

The tower of Broughton church—the only part of the mediæval building remaining—is dated 1533. As no entry was made in the missal about it, we may perhaps conclude that all these memoranda are of earlier date, and that the Broughton people had ceased by that time to use this particular book for recording such matters.

The longest of the memoranda added to this service book is a full record of the division of the property of one Thomas Eccleston who apparently died intestate. His daughter Elizabeth married one of the Singletons, who appear to have been the principal family in Broughton. Unfortunately the writing is not very clear and is illegible in places owing to damp stains, so it has not been possible to read it all. This matter and two short entries relating to farms are chiefly of interest in connection with the local history of Broughton. It is possible that one of the witnesses, Sir Thomas Crosse, may be the same as the Thomas Cross instituted to the living of St. Michael-on-Wyre on 16th July 1549 by patrons acting under a grant by the Master of Battlefield College near Shrewsbury, who had the patronage of the living; this Thomas Crosse had been a chantry priest of Battlefield College.

FULL TEXT OF LATER ENTRIES

In Kalendar :—

April 11th

Obitus Cristo[phe]ris Harreson qui dedit magnum calicem ecclesie huic anno domini M^o CCCC lxxxv^{to}

27th Sancta Sitha.

June 15th

Isto die obiit Gilbertus Barton ¹ armiger anno domini M^o quingentesimo decimo sexto

September 18th

Memorandum quod dominus Edward[us] Ball capellanus ecclesie parochialis de Broghton dedit p[er]ticam ferream pendentem in alto choro caram † altare in honor' omnium sanctorum Anno domini Millesimo quingentesimo. Et anno nono decimo eiusdem Edwardj ibidem curam gerentis.

November

Memorandum that the new stone cross in owr kyrke yard of Alhalowse of Broghtone was erytt and fenysht the xiiij^{te} day of Nouember In the yer' of our' lord Gode Mccccc and xij then beyng p[ri]est sir Edward Ball the xxxij^{to} yer' of hys contynuanee And in the same yer' our lade sanct Catryne sanct Mergett sanct Nycholas sanct Iams and sanct Syth wer' rep[ar]olyt and payntyd the[r]ow the [cowns]ell and helpe of the sade sir Edward then beyng' parysh p[ri]est

24 Nov.

Obitus domini Galfridi de na . . . [*a short word*]

In margin below Feria iii in hebdomada sancta

Nouerint vniuersi per presentes quod nos Ricardus permissione divina Sodorensis episcopus abbasque monasterii sancte Werburge Cestrensis sedi apostolice immediate subditus et subjectus Couentrensis et Lichfeldensis diocesis die sabbati iiij temporum videlicet vicesimo secundo die mensis Septembris Anno domini millesimo CCCC.lxxxj^o in ecclesia conuentali monesterii † nostri predicti sacros et generales

¹ There is an account of Gilbert Barton and his family in *Chetham Society*, vol. 91, p. 31, which contains a series of Barton deeds, edited by Colonel John Parker, C.B., F.S.A.

ordines celebrantes dilectum nobis in christo Edward Ball dicte diocesis diaconum per literas dimissarias a suo diocesano sufficienter dimissum ad titulum prioratus de Burscogh eiusdem diocesis ad omnes sacros ordines sibi concessis de quo vt asserit reputauit se contentum in presbyterum rite et canonice ordinantes tunc ibidem In cujus rei testimonium presentibus sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus dat' die mensis anno domini et loco supradicto et nostre consecracionis anno tercio

At end of canon :—

Hit is to be hadde in mynde that the xxvijth day of July the yere of ou^r Lorde Godde a thousande fyve hundreth xxx^l: the guddes of Thomas Eccleston late decessit was deuydit emonge his iij children that is saye Iohn Elisabyth and Alis and prasyt by the advisament and gud deliberacion of Robart Adamson and Robart Melle furst in handis of Elisabeth late the wiffe of Henr' Singleton of the forseid Elisabyth Eccleston guddis taken at the [handis] of the forseid prasers for her parte according to the premisses

..... x^d besidis all dettis funeralls andes with other d[emaunds ?] as more plainly doth apere by a paire of indentures made bering date etc.

Item in the hondis of the wiff of Henr' Talzer and C[hri]stofer Hareson like some y guddis as is aforeseid for the behowe of Iohn Eccleston son unto the seid Thomas

Item in the hondis of Iohn Eccleston for the behowe of Alis his doughter like some also it is to be knawyn that the said Elisabeth Singleton is agreat and content by thes premisses to fynd and bring up the said Elisabeth Eccleston opon the moyetie of her guddis and [that] Alice the said wife of Henr' Talzer with C[hri]stofer her son the said [Iohn ?] Eccleston also the said Iohn Eccleston the seid Alis Eccleston accordinge to the premisses And for mor suertye of thes premisses the [persons ?] above namyt Sir Iohn Eccleston chapelayne to the [esquire ?] of the man[or] Iohn Balde esquire to write thes actis afore seid in this [present ?] boke these beinge witnes Sir Roger Charisfild
 Roger Gregson Sir Thomas Crosse and other

At end of Temporalis :—

Thys ys the stwff that com the last

In primis a chaies a holle vestement with a masse boke ij awter clothys with a superaltare a surplys a canope with a pixide ij paxys with a sacrynge bell

Item gyffe to the chyrche of Broughton in hon^r of God and All Holowes of the devoc[i]o[n] of Nicolas Walmysleye ij westement with a masse boke of Saroume vse

[*In a good charter hand.*]

Be hyt had in mynd that the xviiij day of Apryll the yere of oyre Lorde MCCCClxxxix lxxxix that Sir Thomas Cowell the sone of Iankin Cowell of Broghton came to Broghton a fore wretyn and brogh with hym a chaless with a case a vestement with a male to pout hyt in a corporax with a case a nauter clothe a clothe for to howsyll with a pax a cloth for the prystys hondys a pare of cruetyes with a cros of coper ouer gylte and enamylt and a croc¹ cloth ther to with a clothe to hyng a for the auter and a cace for the sayde cros in worchepe of Gode and All Halows ther to a byde for euermore vndyr the condicion and furme that he hase shwte vn to the worchepfull men of the same towne of Broghton a for wretyn myne aune hands wretyn Sir Th^t of Cowell with myn sene manowell vnderscrybyt and theye beryng wytnes and present Rob[ert] Synglyton Bryan S[y]nglyton Ric[hard] S[y]nglyton Iamys S[y]nglyton Gentylmen Reb[ert] Schyreson Harr' Cowell then beyng parych pryste at the same tyme [an erasure] bye Edwarde Ball with odyr mony mor

[*In another hand.*]

Memorandum e[st] that the ferme langyng to the church of Broghton wthin Holghton—xs xd Item another lityll house in Haghton the ferme—ijs

[*In the former hand.*]

And at all thys stofe a for wretyn be kept in a chyste with iij loks and the keys the qwyche iij keys j ordyrd to kepe at thys tym my brodyr Harr' Cowell Robard Schyreson and Perys Cowell my cosyn and after than seche as as^t Gode and the wyrchepfull men of thys paryche thynkys ys habull ther to plesyng to Gode

[*In another hand.*]

Be it hadd in mynde that Edward Gregeson hase gyffys by hys testament viij s to vpholde on lampe before the rode in Broghton kyrke for euer more with a pewdre botell to kepe holde in at the syght of iijj kyrke maisters and the parish p[re]ste

[*In the second hand.*]

Also in Gosenargh pariche the ferme iij^s iij^d Memorandum that Thomas Cotom^t our tenand in Goysnarghe hath agrete with vs kyrke maysters of Broghton as touchyng hys income

Then beyng kyrke reuys Georg Helme Wylyam Syngleton Thomas Haresone Ione Ekylstone

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THE RECTORS AND DEANS
OF MANCHESTER
PRIOR TO THE COLLEGIATION
OF THE PARISH CHURCH
IN 1421

BY
ERNEST AXON, F.S.A.

MANCHESTER
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INTRODUCTION

PRIOR to its church being collegiate in 1421 the parish of Manchester had, like other parishes, its Rectors, and there were also ecclesiastics styled Deans of Manchester. It is of the Rectors, of the clergymen who have been mistakenly stated to be Rectors of Manchester, and of the Deans who may possibly have also been Rectors that authentic information has been collected.

Researches have necessarily been almost confined to, and have probably not quite exhausted, material to be found in the libraries of Manchester. The main printed sources have been the calendars issued by H.M. Stationery Office, and the various books edited by the late Dr. William Farrer. Important manuscript sources have been the valuable material for Lancashire history contained in the Farrer Collection in the Reference Library, in which are several volumes of Towneley MSS., besides the transcripts of national records relating to Lancashire and abstracts of many local deeds made by and for Dr. Farrer, the editor of the *Victoria County History, Lancashire*. The Towneley MSS. in the Chetham Library have also been examined, and a number of original deeds and George Rigby's transcripts in the John Rylands Library have been seen.

It should be mentioned that several lists of the Rectors are already in existence. Hollinworth, the seventeenth-century historian, gives, in *Mancuniensis*, the names of most of the Rectors, but with some inaccuracies. Dr. Samuel Hibbert-Ware in his *The Ancient Parish Church of Manchester and why it was Collegiated* (1848), a work which is considered to be the fourth volume of "The Foundations in Manchester," gives a list of clergy, with many additional particulars. Croston's edition of Baines's *Lancashire* has much information, apparently derived from Raines and Hibbert-Ware, but with some corrections and a few additional errors. Farrer and Brownbill's *Victoria County History, Lancashire*, has an excellent list, with many references to authorities. What may be regarded as the official list is in the *Manchester Diocesan Directory*, that in the issue for 1930 differing from that in the issue for 1934, and both requiring correction.

The most elaborate list is that in Canon Raines's *Wardens of Manchester* (Chetham Society), and it is also the most inaccurate, but in justice to a good antiquary it should be remembered that Raines did not prepare his manuscript for the press, and that he collected his material before much of the evidence became available. Raines and others following him have fallen into error in several cases by including as rectors of Manchester those of Mancetter, Warwickshire. At the time both Manchester and Mancetter were in the dioceses of Lichfield and Coventry (sometimes called also the diocese of Chester) and the mediæval spelling of the names of the two places was the same or so close that confusion was easy. In the indexes to the Calendars of Close Rolls, Patent Rolls and Papal Letters, all issued by the Public Record Office, the same confusion occurs, some Manchester entries being referred to Mancetter. Whenever a patron is named there is no excuse for the confusion, for throughout the Middle Ages the patrons of Manchester were the Grelleys and their heirs the la Warres, and neither family was connected with Mancetter, Warwickshire. A number of the rectors were presented by the King by reason of the estates being in the King's hands for minority or other reasons. When this is so the records usually say so.

This study of the local rectors will illustrate the manner in which, in the Middle Ages, the revenues of the church were applied to purposes that can scarcely be called religious. Many of the rectors were men engaged in secular callings—as king's servants, lawyers, judges and statesmen. All were clergymen in the technical sense of being in orders, minor orders at least. Their principal work was unconnected with the church, but the church provided the salary. Most of these men were presented by the King. When the true patron presented he either obliged the King by presenting one of the King's clerks, or he saved salaries by appointing his own steward or business man. There is no evidence that the Pope was concerned in making any Manchester appointment, but at that time he was just as regardless as either King or local patron of the interests of the parishioners, and allowed the King's clerks to hold, and neglect, many livings at one time.

Many of the Rectors were therefore non-resident, and their only connection with Manchester was that endowments, presumably intended for religious, and possibly charitable, purposes, in the parish, were received by them, and spent elsewhere.

It was in the hope of preventing this neglect of duty that Thomas la Warre, himself an offender, founded the College and made rules for a staff of clergymen to be resident in Manchester. As stated in the charter of foundation of the College, "the church of Manchester having a large and ample parish, also very populous, had in bygone times been accustomed to be ruled and governed by rectors, of whom some never,

others very rarely, heeded to personally reside in the same, but to the same church, over which a weighty and great care of souls did and doth impend, they caused the adminicle (i.e. the aid which a beneficed clergyman received from clerks of an inferior degree) to be served by remotive, stipendiary chaplains, removing the profits and oblations of such church to their private uses according to their own pleasure, from the daily absence of whom followed a neglect of the cure of souls, a diminution of Divine worship, a defrauding of hospitality and of the support of the poor, and a great danger of souls."¹

As the endowments of the church were apparently the sole reason for some of our Rectors being rectors a word may be said as to their value, for Manchester church has always been rich.

There is a theory that Domesday Book mentions two churches as being in Manchester. Actually it does not state that any church was in Manchester. What it does state is that "the church of St. Mary and the church of St. Michael held in Mamecestre 1 carucate of land quit from every due except geld."² As these two saints are those invoked in the dedications of the churches of Manchester and Ashton-under-Lyne there is every probability that these are the churches intended. There is absolutely no evidence that there were two churches in the town of Manchester, although much has been written to prove their existence.

The land mentioned in Domesday is still the property of the church, if, as is usually assumed, it was the manor of Newton. The original endowment was increased by Albert Grelley, presumably the one who was lord from 1154 to 1166, who gave four oxgangs or bovates to the church of Mamecestre in free alms. Hibbert-Ware (p. 19) and Harland (*Mamecestre*, Chet. Soc.), I, 36, suppose this to be the site of the Parsonage in and near Deansgate, and Farrer (*V.C.H.L.*, IV, 192, and *Lanc. Inq.*, I, 57), with equal probability, thought it to be Kirkmanshulme.

In 1282 the value of the living was 200 marks (£133 6s. 8d.). In the extent of 1322 the living was again valued at 200 marks,³ but between these dates, in the Taxation of Nicholas IV, made about 1291, it had shrunk to £53 6s. 8d., or at any rate for the purposes of that taxation it was estimated at that figure. Harland⁴ multiplied the figures by 15 to get the value in his day. To-day we may safely reckon 25 times as the value. The living was therefore worth £3,375 of to-day's money, and was sufficiently valuable to attract avaricious clerks of the highest rank.

This value appears to represent the value of the endowment only. There would be other sources of income, upon which the clergymen who actually did the work would have to live.

No evidence has been found to show that any Rector of Manchester

¹ Hibbert-Ware, 155-6.

² *V.C.H.L.*, I, 287.

³ Farrer, *Lanc. Inq.* (Rec. Soc.), II, 69.

⁴ *Mamecestre*, 154.

was Dean of Manchester, although Whitaker ¹ assumes that the various Deans who are recorded were all also Rectors, and that the Wardens were also Deans of Manchester. All the evidence shows that Whitaker's contention is unsound.

The Deans of Manchester were diocesan officers, not parochial ones. Gastrell ² says "to every Deanry there belonged formerly a Dean Rurall who had a particular Jurisdiction within his own District, viz. all presentments of Churchwardens were made to him, and he had cognizance of all causes which arose from thence, and he had likewise the Probate of all Wills where the Inventory was under £40 and of granting Administration upon them," and they used to pay to the Bishop a rent, that of Manchester being £5. At the end of the sixteenth century the Dean of Manchester was Thomas Richardson, one of the Fellows, and he evidently had jurisdiction in connection with marriage licences, wills, and immoralities in all the parishes in the Deanery,³ besides being head of the clergy of the Deanery.⁴

When Bishop Bridgeman entered on his see of Chester in 1619 he found that the rural deaneries were leased out for lives, the lessees subletting to the highest bidder, and in order to restore them to their former dignity, conferred them, as they became vacant, on the Archdeacons, thus saving himself the cost of their stipends. And "because the Bishoppes have few preferements besides to bestow upon their Chaplains he hath reserved the Deaneries of Manchester and Amounderness for that purpose."⁵ It was probably under this arrangement that Richard Wroe became in 1695 Rural Dean of Manchester,⁶ eleven years after his appointment to the Wardenship.

¹ *Hist. Manchester*, 4to ed., II, 391-2.

² *Not. Cest.*, I, 26.

³ Raines, *Fellows*, I, 71; *Chester Marr. Lic.*, I, 58; Tait, *Lancs. Quarter Sess. Rec.*, I, 112.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Kenyon MSS.*, 601 (where his name is abbreviated to "Rych").

⁵ Baker MSS., XXVIII, 422 (Cambridge University Library), printed in *Palatine Note-Book*, III, 60.

⁶ Gastrell, *Not. Cest.*, I, 30.

RECTORS OF MANCHESTER.

(In the following list are included notices of (1) all the known Rectors, (2) all the known early Deans, (3) other important early clerks who may perhaps have been Rectors, and (4) alleged Rectors for whom no evidence has been found or who are known to have been Rectors of Mancetter. The notices of those in the first class are headed by the Rector's name in capitals, and in those of the other three classes the clerk's name is printed in italics, with his actual designation.)

Wluric, or Wulric, the Clerk.

In the list of witnesses to the confirmation by Albert Grelley of his father's grant of Ashton-under-Lyne to Roger son of Orm, undated, but between 1153 and 1162, occurs Wulric the clerk, the seventh of the twelfth witnesses, whose names are probably arranged in order of rank.¹ Farrer says he "was almost certainly the predecessor of Jordan, Dean of Manchester, temp. Richard I and John, and the same person to whom Albert the third baron gave land in Manchester as recorded in the *Testa de Nevill*." This opinion was published in 1902, but in the following year, 1903, Farrer had another idea when annotating the Great Inquest of Lands given and alienated within the County of Lancaster, made in June, 14 John, 1212,² the original source of the information mentioned above as being in *Testa de Nevill*: "Albert Gredle, senior, gave to Wluric de Mamecestre iiij. bovates of land of his demesne by vs. yearly. His heirs hold that land." On this Farrer says, "Wulfric de Mamecestre, elsewhere called 'the clerk', was probably Albert Grelley's official. This grant, made between 1154 and 1162, may have been the estate of Nuthurst in Moston, or the reputed manor of Clayden in Manchester." In 1906 Farrer made another suggestion³

¹ Farrer, *Lancs. Pipe R.*, 403, 406.

² *Lancs. Inq.*, I, 57.

³ *V.C.H.L.*, I, 328, n.

when he said that Wluric de Mamecestre was probably Wulfrich, lord of Withington, and ancestor of the Derbyshire Hathersages.

Here are four different suggestions as to the identity of Wluric and his lands, Hulme, Nuthurst, Clayden and Withington, but Farrer had apparently dropped three of them by 1911, when the fourth volume of the *V.C.H.L.* was issued. Under Hulme, Nuthurst and Withington, he does not mention Wluric, but of Clayden he says it "appears to represent the four oxgangs of demesne land bestowed about 1160 on Wulfric de Manchester by Albert Grelley, senior, at a rent of 5s. In later times it was held by the same rent by a family surnamed Clayden, perhaps descendants of Wulfric."

Apart from the amount of the rent there is nothing to connect Wulfric with Clayden. There is also nothing to show that Wluric the clerk was identical with Wulfric of Mamecestre, and nothing to prove that Wluric was either Dean or Rector of Manchester.

The family of Clayden which Farrer suggested to be descended from Wluric, was the family to which Raines suggested John of Claydon, a later Rector, belonged.

Aca, the Clerk.

Raines (p. 1) mentions "Aca, Rector of S. Maries, Mamcester, *sine dato*, temp. Hen. II (1154-89)" and his editor adds a reference which does not bear out the description of Aca as rector. Raines's authority has not been found. Aca, whose unusual name is Englished Ace by Harland and Farrer, is mentioned in the Great Inquest of Service, 1212, from which we learn that "Robert Gredle who now is gave to Ace, the clerk, one land of his demesne of Mamecestre by 3s. The same Ace holds that land."¹ The Robert Grelley "that now is" was Robert (son of Albert Grelley, III) who succeeded his father in 1180, came of age and took possession of his estates in 1194 and died in 1230. The grant to Aca was perhaps about 1200. "Ascus clericus," probably the same man, wrote and witnessed a grant by Robert Grelley to Ralph of Ancoats of two oxgangs of land in Ancoats, which Farrer dates about 1200.²

On this slender basis of evidence Hibbert-Ware (pp. 39-41) makes Aca to have been "incumbent of St. Matthew's or Grelle's Chantry." Grelley's Chantry was, however, dedicated to St. Nicholas,³ not to St. Matthew, and it was, like the other chantries, within the parish church, not as Hibbert-Ware convinced himself, on the land with which it was endowed. Curiously enough, Hibbert-Ware thought he had ascertained the origin of Acres Fair, which he preferred to call Aca's Fair, by find-

¹ Farrer, *Lanc. Inq.*, I, 59.

² *V.C.H.L.*, IV, 237; *Trans. Hist. Soc. of L. & C.*, n.s. XVII, 49.

³ Raines, *Lanc. Chantries* (Chet. Soc.), I, 32.

ing a deed transferring the ownership of three perches of land, of which the boundaries named included the Four Acres, parcel of the land late of the chantry named Grell's chantry, on the south, and the Royal road called the Wything-greave, on the north. The Four Acres he considered to be the same as Acresfield, the site of St. Anne's Square, but he did not explain how so small a plot of land as three perches (91 square yards standard measure, or 162 square yards Cheshire measure), one side of which was in Withy Grove, could be made to stretch as far as Acresfield, all of which was on the far side of Market Street, about a quarter of a mile away. There seems nothing except the old pronunciation of Acresfield, which judging by the "Court Leet Records" was Ackers, to connect the Fair with the Aca.

Jordan, Dean of Manchester, occurs 1177-96.

Although there is no evidence that Jordan the Dean was Rector of Manchester, the claim made by Albert of Nevill, that the deanery of Manchester was attached to the Rectorship, suggests that shortly before his time the positions had been combined.

Jordan Dean of Mamecestre, or Jordan of Mamecestre, as he is sometimes called, is mentioned in the Pipe Rolls from 1177 to 1196 for offences against the forest laws, for having withdrawn his plea to prosecute, for a wrongful ejectment, and for complicity in the rebellion of Count John (afterwards the King).¹

He was a considerable landowner, and in 1226 the farm of the land of Jordan the Dean, in Ouerholm and Noranholm was 5s.² The appearance of a name in this list does not imply that the person named was still alive. In 1324 it is recorded that Geoffrey of Hulme held land in Overhulm and Netherhulm [Hulme near Manchester], which Jordan the Dean formerly held, for which he paid 5s. to the Earl of Lancaster.³

The fact that Jordan occurs in the Pipe Rolls, which are dated, makes his appearance as a witness to undated grants of some little importance for dating purposes. Robert, chaplain of Mamecestr, and Jordan, clerk of the same town, occur as witnesses to a grant by Albert Grelli to William, clerk of Eccles, c. 1180,⁴ and the same two occur, as chaplains and without the local description, in a grant by Robert Greillei to Robert of Burun⁵ probably after 1194. J. Dean of Mamecestr occurs as witness to a confirmation by Hugh, bishop of Coventry, of half the church of Eccles to Geoffrey of Byron in April 1192.⁶ Hollinworth⁷ found "in ould evidence" in 1235, J. Decanus de Manncestre

¹ Farrer, *Lancs. Pipe R.*, 38, 51, 52, 55, 57, 78, 85, 89, 92, 97.

² Farrer, *Lancs. Inq.*, I, 137.

³ Ibid., II, 204.

⁴ *Whalley Coucher*, 41; *V.C.H.L.*, IV, 357.

⁵ *Trans. Hist. Soc. L. & C.*, n.s. XVII, 41.

⁶ *Whalley Coucher*, 40.

⁷ *Mancuniensis*, 30.

and Jurdan Capellanus ejusdem villæ, but it is probable that he had mistaken the dates of the deeds.

In spite of his surname, which has been taken ¹ to refer to St. Mary's, the parish church of Manchester, "Jordan de Sancta Maria," who witnessed deeds in 1205 ² and c. 1222, ³ was not the Manchester dean. He was probably a layman as, unlike some other witnesses to the same deeds, he has no clerical description. The other witnesses have apparently no Manchester connection.

Randle of Welham, or Welling, not Rector, c. 1194-5.

We now come to an imaginary Rector, Randle of Welham or Welling. Hibbert-Ware first discovered him as Rector in a deed of 6 Richard I (1194-5), and he is stated in the *Manchester Diocesan Directory*, 1930, where his name is given as Welling, to have been Rector before 1194. As Rector he is a mere blunder, but as Dean of Manchester he lived about a century afterwards, and a notice of him will be found later (p. 15).

The earliest known Rector was—

Albert of Neville, Rector, c. 1200.

Members of the Neville family occur at an early date in Lincolnshire as landholders and churchmen.⁴ There they would be neighbours of the Grelleys, with whom the Rector's unusual Christian name suggests kinship.

He was evidently a business man of Robert Grelley, appearing as his attorney in a number of legal cases relating to Rutland in 1200 and 1201, and to Lancashire in 1201, 1203 and 1204.⁵ In the record of these cases his name is usually Albertus, but in 1201 it is Osbertus ⁶ and Aubertus, assuming that all refer to the same man. In none of these cases is his connection with Manchester stated.

As a parson Neville seems to have looked after the financial interests

¹ Farrer, *Final Concords*, I, 89, n.

² Farrer, *Lancs. Pipe R.*, 381-2, where it is suggested that he was a Yorkshire or Cheshire knight.

³ *Whalley Coucher*, 522; *V.C.H.L.*, IV, 372.

⁴ *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, episcopi Lincolniensis*, 1209-1235, Vols. I and II (Canterbury and York Soc.).

⁵ Farrer, *Lancs. Pipe R.*, 171; *Rotuli Curiae Regis*, II, 184; *Curia Regis R.*, I, 408, 424; II, 292; III, 62, 230.

⁶ Perhaps the same man as Hosbert of Neville, is named as a witness to Albert Grelle's grant to Albert son of Robert of Kent, c. 1175, the first witness to which was Hugh of Neville, with Hosbert near the end. *Trans. Hist. Soc. L. & C.*, n.s. XVII, *facsimile*, p. 23.

of the church. He was concerned in two cases which remain on record. In one case his claims—that the deanery of Manchester was attached to the rectory and that the church was immune from payment of the cathedratick, an annual pension due from parish churches to the bishop—were submitted by the Pope to Eustace, Bishop of Ely, and other ecclesiastics for trial. In the result the Rector had to acknowledge that a pension of 2s. per annum was due from Manchester church to the Bishop of Coventry. The date of this was between 1198 and 1208, and the record does not show how the claim to the deanery was settled.¹ The deanery was a source of considerable income if the Dean got as much for his services as did the Dean of Amounderness a century later, when he was charged with exacting by custom 20s. for every £20 contained in a testament proved before him.²

Neville was more successful in his case against the Prior of Lenton at about the same date, when under the arbitration of the same Bishop Eustace and two other arbitrators, the Rector and the Prior came to an agreement respecting trespasses on the Rector's rights by the monks of Kersal, which was a cell of Lenton. The agreement provided that the monks should make a yearly gift of two candles, each 1½ lb. in weight, for the privilege of burying their own men, and they promised that they would not admit any parishioner to the sacraments, accept oblations from him or give him burial without fully indemnifying the mother church, or pay 2s. for each trespass. They also promised to pay 2s. yearly at Christmas for tithes from the land which they had brought under cultivation by their own labour.³

In 1202-3 it is recorded that Neville proffered two marks for inquiry into a charge that he had attacked the Sheriff of Lancashire with force and arms and had then fled the county.⁴ Farrer suggests that this trouble arose from disputes as to the jurisdictions of the sheriff and the steward of the manor of Manchester.

Neville, describing himself as "Albertus de Novilla Rector ecclesiae Beatae Mariae de Mancest," granted to John of Burun [i.e. Byron] a portion of the church land in Newton, at a yearly rent to the Rector and the Church of 4s. and two wax candles of one pound of wax. Henry of Neville was one of the witnesses.⁵

The few facts known of Albert of Neville are all within a few years of the year 1200, and both date of appointment and death or resignation

¹ *The Great Register of Lichfield*, ed. by H. E. Savage (William Salt Collections 1924), p. 177.

² *Coram Rege R.*, No. 297 (Farrer Collection).

³ Farrer, *Lancs. Pipe R.*, 330-3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁵ Black book of Clayton, copy in Towneley MSS. (Farrer Collection); Hibbert-Ware, 27 (inaccurately, in Latin); Crofton's *Newton Chapelry*, II, 118 (in English). Crofton points out that this part of Newton did not come into the possession of the Warden and Fellows. Evidently it was permanently alienated. Raines refers to the same deed as a Trafford deed.

are wanting. There was probably another rector, possibly more than one, before the next known one, Peter Grelley.

Maran, Priest of Manchester, occurs c. 1205.

Maran, if that is the English form of his very unusual name, occurs only as a witness to the charter granted by R. Prior of Birkenhead to Gervase, son of Robert the Chaplain of St. Marie Dene, i.e. Deane, Lancashire. Of this charter there are two transcripts, differing slightly, in a Chetham Library Towneley MS., and another transcript in a British Museum Towneley MS.¹

The charter is undated, and the names of the grantor and the witnesses do not prove a closer date than the last ten years of the twelfth century and the first ten of the thirteenth century.

The grantor, who in another charter is called Robert, was R. Prior of Birkenhead. There is no complete and dated list of the Birkenhead Priors, and this Robert, who is known only from a few charters, is dated "c. 1190 to after 1206," by Mr. Stewart-Brown.² The witnesses were Mr. Alexander "de Scot," Bertin the Chamberlain, Allan of Walley, Henry parson of Bothelton, "Marano sacerdote de Manchestr," and David priest of Eccles. Mr. Alexander "de Scot," as his name is given in the Chetham Library Towneley volume, is probably a scribe's error for Mr. Alexander, tutor of the son of the Earl of Chester, and by marriage, lord of Storeton in Wirral, as identified by Mr. Stewart-Brown. "Bertin" can only be Bertram, Chamberlain of the Earls of Chester from as early as 1181 to 1208, and possibly a few years later. Allan of Walley (Wallasey) occurs from before 1184 to about 1230.³ The parson of Bothelton (i.e. Bolton le Moors) is only known to us from his being among the witnesses to this and another charter from the same Prior to another son of the Chaplain of Deane, and David priest of Eccles, if he is identical with David chaplain of Eccles, witnessed a charter by Gilbert of Notton and Edith his wife, which must be dated before 1220, when Edith died. The other charter granted by Prior Robert, probably at the same date, had, among other witnesses, A. Chaplain of Wigan, who was alive in 1205.⁴ Farrer dates this deed as "probably near the beginning of the 12th century."⁵

The dates of the witnesses suggest that the charter was granted rather late in the time of Bertram the Chamberlain, say about 1205, in which case Maran would be a contemporary of Albert of Nevill.

¹ Towneley MS., Lever volume (Chetham Library); Add. MSS. 32103 (British Museum).

² *Birkenhead Priory*, 84.

⁴ Farrer, *Lancs. Pipe R.*, 233.

³ Tait, *Chester Chartulary* II, xxxii, 275.

⁵ *V.C.H.L.*, IV, 238.

The probability is that he was not Rector of Manchester, or he would have been so described in the deed.

William of Manchester, Dean of Lichfield.

Shortly after Albert of Neville's time there was a distinguished ecclesiastic, Master William of Manchester, who was Dean of Lichfield from 1222 to his death, 7 Feb. 1253-4.¹ He was elected Bishop of Lichfield by the Lichfield chapter, but did not accept the honour. In a lecture given in 1897 the Rev. Dr. Tynan claimed that he was "a native of Manchester, of which he was also Dean." Attention was called to this statement in the *Manchester City News* of 26 June 1897, and in the following week Professor Tait pointed out that William was Dean of Lichfield, not of Manchester. On 10 July Dr. Tynan acknowledged his mistake as to the deanery, but still claimed the Dean as a native of Manchester. It is, however, almost certain that William of Manchester had no connection with Manchester and that he derived his name from Mancetter.

Sir Geoffrey, Dean of Manchester, thirteenth century.

All that we know of Geoffrey is that he witnessed several undated deeds, in none of which is he styled Rector of Manchester, and as he appears to have been, in his later years, contemporary with Peter Grelley, it is probable that he was not Rector, despite Neville's claim that the Deanery was attached to the Rectory. "Geoffrey the Dean" occurs over so long a period that it seems very probable that there were two men in succession of the same name and rank.

Whitaker,² Hibbert-Ware³ and Harland⁴ confuse him with Geoffrey of Stokes, who, at a much later date (1306-1313), was Rector of Manchester. Raines is right in denying the identity. The confusion seems to have arisen from the misdating of an undated deed⁵ by which Thomas Greslet granted three tofts in Manchester to Richard of Boudoun. The witnesses included Sir Henry of Chetham, Sir Matthew of Haversegge, knights, Robert of Byroun, Sir Geoffrey chaplain of Mamecestre, Jordan of Raby, Henry of Ancoats, and others. By assuming that Thomas Grelley, the grantor, was the eighth lord (1282-1311) instead of his grandfather of the same name (1231-62), the deed has been post-dated a couple of generations. The occurrence of the two witnesses, Chetham and Haversegge, shows that the grant was made before

¹ Le Neve, *Fasti*, I, 561.

² *Hist. Manchester*, 4th ed., II, 391.

⁴ *Mamecestre*, II, 247-8.

³ p. 76.

⁵ Trafford Deeds, 4 (Farrer Collection).

1235, and so could have no connection with Geoffrey of Stokes. Chetham died in about 1235,¹ and Matthew of Hathersage died in 1259.²

Other deeds to which Geoffrey was a witness are known.³

In these deeds, which seem to be from about 1210 to 1273, he is styled Sir Geoffrey dean, Sir G. dean of Mancestr, and Sir G. then dean of Mamcestr. He witnessed two Chetham deeds, both undated, but *circa* 1260, one as Sir Geoffrey chaplain, then dean, and the other as Sir G. then dean of Mancestr'.⁴

There is a puzzling deed⁵ witnessed by Sir Geoffrey of Chetham, Roger vicar of Eccles, Sir Geoffrey then dean of Mancestr'. It is undated, and as Sir Geoffrey of Chetham was a witness it should be earlier than his death, 1273-4, but as the vicarage of Eccles was not ordained until 1277, it should be after that date. Farrer,⁶ however, shows that as early as 1255 the clergyman in charge of Eccles was styled "vicar" in a papal letter. Probably in the deed the same style was used, although was not yet legally correct.

Perhaps contemporary with Dean Geoffrey in his later years, but certainly not identical with him, was a Geoffrey of Manchester, chaplain. Thomas Barritt⁷ copied, probably inaccurately, a grant by "Galfridus de Mancestre cappelanus" and gave a sketch of the seal, with the legend "Galfridi de Manchester capelus," certainly inaccurately transcribed. Hibbert-Ware's remarks thereon are valueless, as he assumes that this Geoffrey was sub-dean of Geoffrey of Stokes. The occurrence of Geoffrey of Bracebrugge among the witnesses shows that the deed was made long before Stokes was rector, for Geoffrey of Bracebridge died in 1290.⁸ This Geoffrey the chaplain was perhaps the same as Sir Geoffrey of Mamcestr' chaplain, who with Richard of Trafford, Rector of Cheadle, witnessed a deed.⁹ Trafford was Rector of Cheadle from 1298, or earlier, to his death in 1321.¹⁰

There was apparently still another Geoffrey the chaplain, as a deed, dated 1351, translated by George Rigby,¹¹ mentions "the burgage of Sr Geoffrey the Chappleyne" as one of the boundaries of a burgage in Manchester.

¹ Axon, *Chetham Genealogies*, 2.

² *Derbyshire Arch. Soc. Jnl.*, n.s. II, 307-10.

³ *Whalley Coucher* (Chet. Soc.), 164, 601, 910; Booker, *Birch*, 121; *Trans. L. & C. Hist. Soc.*, n.s. XVII, 42, where a grant made by Robert Grelley is given as "*c.* 1175," which is far too early, as Robert was apparently only about two years old at that time (*V.C.H.L.*, I, 329).

⁴ Clowes Deeds, Nos. 95, 162 (Farrer Collection).

⁵ Towneley MS. HH. 2259 (Farrer Collection).

⁶ *V.C.H.L.*, IV, 358.

⁷ Hibbert-Ware, 76-7.

⁸ *Ancestor*, VIII, 85. De Banco R., 89, m. 19d (Farrer Collection).

⁹ Raines, 2.

¹⁰ Earwaker, *East Ches.*, I, 218; II, 658.

¹¹ Eng. MSS. 663, p. 53 (John Rylands Library).

Peter Grelley, Rector, occurs 1267-1285.

Peter Grelley is recognized by Hibbert-Ware as having been Rector, and is stated in the *Manchester Diocesan Directory*, 1930,¹ to have been appointed in 1261, but he is not included in Farrer's list of the Rectors in *V.C.H.L.* The earliest evidence for his having been Rector is that he is described as "parson of the church of Mamecestre" in a simple protection granted (and vacated) on 20 July 1267. On the same day a safe conduct for a fortnight coming to the King's court for his business was substituted. On 21 July 1267 remission was granted to him, not this time described as parson, of the King's indignation, and he was pardoned all trespasses committed by him in the time of the disturbances had in the realm.² The disturbances referred to would be the rebellion of Simon de Montfort, who had been slain in 1265.

In December 1267 "Petrus Grelegh custos ecclie de Maincestr" made a grant of the manor of Periton, Bucks, contingent on his succeeding to it.³ What "custos" means here is not clear, but it may be mentioned that there is a reference to a Dean [i.e. Rector] of Whalley in the twelfth or thirteenth century, as "custos."⁴ Hibbert-Ware thought that it meant custodian of the advowson, appointed lest the rights of the patron should be invaded, and the church be subject to one of the papal provisions. He says further (p. 190), "A friend, however, upon whose accuracy I can rely, informs me that 'Petrus Grelley' as Rector of Manchester, was subsequently witness to two deeds of the dates of the 9th and 12th of Edward the First," i.e. 1281-4.

One of these deeds is presumably that between Henry of Great Lever and Richard of Redford dated "die Martis prox. ante festum apostolos Phillippi et Jacobi, 9 Edw. I" [i.e. 28 April 1281], the third witness to which was Sir Peter of Greley, rector of the church of Manchester.⁵ The later deed has not been traced. In the pleas of the Forest of Peak taken at Derby on the morrow of St. Michael's, in the 13th year of King Edward, son of King Henry [30 Sep. 1285], Peter of Greyleye, Parson of Manchester, is mentioned.⁶ The date of this plea is so close to that of March, the next known Rector, that Grelley may have been the immediate predecessor of Bishop March as Rector.

Peter Grelley was the second son of Thomas Grelley, lord of Manchester, who died in 1262. As Peter was apparently of age when his father died he was probably born not later than 1240. In 1261, shortly before his death, Thomas Grelley enfeoffed Peter, in trust for the heir,

¹ He is omitted from the list of Rectors in the 1934 edition.

² *Cal. Pat.*, 1266-72, pp. 90, 148.

³ *Abbreviatio placitorum*, 172.

⁴ *V.C.H.L.*, VI, 355, quoting Whitaker, *Whalley*, I, 66-7.

⁵ Towneley MS., Evidences of Lancashire Gentry (Lever volume) in Chetham Library.

⁶ Yeatman, *Feudal History of Co. Derby*, Sec. 6, p. 277.

Peter's nephew, Robert Grelley, then a minor, of the manors of Manchester and Cuerdley, together with the advowsons of the churches of Manchester and Childwall, and the chapels of Ashton-under-Lyne, Hale and Garston, and the manor of Barton-upon-Irwell. As the Grelley lands were held in chief of the King, who was entitled to the custody of lands during a minority, a profitable duty, the King objected to the enfeoffment, which was set aside. The custody of the lands was granted by the King to his son Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, who granted it to Walter of Percy, who delivered the custody to Peter Grelley,¹ who was thus placed in the position to which his father had intended him to be, although it is probable that the intermediate custodians had each taken toll of the property.

Presumably as his nephew's guardian Peter was engaged in litigation concerning the manor of Barton-upon-Irwell from 1272 to 1275.² After the nephew came of age there were suits, the nephew against the uncle for waste, and the uncle against the nephew, claiming that the Lancashire estates were Peter's own property. Finally in 1279 there was a compromise by which Robert Grelley granted to his uncle, for life, the manor of Bloxholm, co. Lincoln, and Peter quitclaimed to Robert Grelley all right he had, by reason of the feoffment of Sir Thomas Grelley, to the manors of Cuerdale and Barton and the advowsons of the churches belonging to the manors.³

No further mention of Peter Grelley has been found in Lancashire records.

In 1275 Peter Grelley had quittance of the common eyre in Worcestershire, in 1277 he was in prison at Worcester for trespass in the forest of Fekham (i.e. Fekenham),⁴ and in 1288-9 he was fined 100s. and pardoned his trespasses in the same forest.⁵

In 1283 "Peter de Greilliac" had a present from the King (Edward I) of four bucks from Sherwood Forest, and in the next year, 1284, he satisfied the King that a royal grant of the Grelley manors, made to Amadeus of Savoy, during another minority, had unwittingly included the manor of Bloxholm in which Peter had a life interest.⁶ The error was rectified.

In 1303 he is recorded as holding three parts of one fee in Bloxham, which Thomas of Grelley formerly held.⁷ Peter Grelley was plaintiff in an action against his great nephew Thomas Grelley concerning waste and houses at Bloxham in 1307.⁸ This is the last date known for his

¹ *Cal. Close*, 1272-9, p. 173.

² De Banco R., 5, m. 113; 7, m. 21; 10, m. 34d (Farrer Collection).

³ *Cal. Close*, 1272-9, p. 173. De Banco R., 10, m. 77d; 11, m. 97d; 14, m. 30; 17, m. 150; 18, m. 7d; 20, m. 25d; 21, m. 108d; 23, m. 2d; 24, m. 3; 26, m. 63; 31, m. 55, 91 (Farrer Collection).

⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1272-9, pp. 230, 401.

⁵ *Abbreviatio Rotulorum originalium*, 64.

⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1279-88, pp. 214, 252, 316.

⁷ *Feudal Aids*, III, 137.

⁸ De Banco R., 164, m. 136d.

being alive. In 1346 John of Ware held three parts of one fee in Bloxham, which Peter of Grilly formerly held.¹

Randle of Welham (or Welling), Dean of Manchester.

No evidence has been found to show that Welham was Rector of Manchester, but he was certainly Dean of Manchester. He is counted as a Rector by Hibbert-Ware, on the strength of the information of an anonymous friend "upon whose accurate information I place the greatest reliance" that in a deed of the 6th of Richard I (A.D. 1194-5) relating to Prestwich parish, he saw the name recorded, as a witness, of "Ranulphus de Welling, Rector of Manchester."² The evidence is not good. It was not usual in the reign of Richard I for charters to be dated by the regnal year, and witnesses to a Latin deed were not described in English. No deed answering the description has been found, but there is one in Prestwich church which is probably that seen and miscopied by Hibbert-Ware's friend. It is the one by which Hamon son of Richard of Oldham granted to John son of Richard of Chaderton lands in Oldham to hold of God and Blessed Marie of Prestwich and the rectors thereof.³

Amongst the witnesses occurs "Randle of Welham, then Dean of Mamecester." The parties to the deed and the other witnesses were all, so far as they can be identified, living in the fourth quarter of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, and the date, about 1295, suggested by Bailey, is probably correct. The deed is therefore a century later than Hibbert-Ware's friend thought it to be. As Sir Randle, then dean, he is named as a witness to a grant of land in Ancoats, dated at Mancestr' on the Monday next after the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, 23 Edward I [i.e. 28 March 1295].⁴

No mention of this dean as Welling, as stated by Hibbert-Ware's friend, has been found.

Welham is perhaps not identical with Randle the clerk who witnessed a grant by Henry of Rusholme to Hugh of Haselum,⁵ undated, but certainly after 1235 and before 1271, and which Farrer⁶ thought to be "about 1260."

¹ *Feudal Aids*, III, 198.

² Hibbert-Ware, 26. The *Manchester Diocesan Calendar* for 1930 accepts "Welling" as Rector, "before 1194," and the 1934 edition gives him as Rector in 1294, when Langton held that position.

³ Booker, *Prestwich*, 250; Bailey, *Patron Saint of Prestwich*, 4, in which Bailey assumes that this is the deed seen by Hibbert-Ware's friend. He dates it c. 1295.

⁴ Towneley MS., Byron evidences (Farrer Collection). This seems to be the deed quoted by Raines (p. 2) as dated 22 Edward I.

⁵ Booker, *Birch*, 185.

⁶ *V.C.H.L.*, IV, 308.

Hugh of Stanestede, Rector of Mancetter.

Included in the Lancashire extracts from De Banco Rolls (No. 92, m. 94) in the Farrer Collection is an entry relating to Hugh of Stanestede, parson of the church of Manecestre. Stanstede was Rector of Mancetter, not of Manchester, and is included in Dugdale's list as having been appointed in 1287.¹

We have now reached the time when, either from national or ecclesiastical records, we get evidence of a continuous series of rectors of Manchester.

Mr. William March, Rector, c. 1291-1293.

"Maincestre" is included in the list of benefices for which Master William de Marchia, sub-deacon, obtained a papal dispensation 13 kal. Apr. [i.e. 20 March] 1290-1.² Following the practice of the mediævalists in the Public Record Office, Maincestre is identified with Mancetter. That it was Manchester is shown by De Banco Roll 151, Easter 32 Edward I, m. 71, where Grandison recites the names of his predecessors and says "one William de Marchia, formerly parson of Manchester, held Ashton as a chapel to Manchester all his time, till made Bishop of Bath and Wells."³

The *D.N.B.* has a notice by Professor Tout of March, whose name occurs also as de la Marche and de Marchia, recording that March was a chancery clerk, apparently of humble origin, who became clerk of the King's wardrobe in about 1285, and in 1290 (6 April) was made Treasurer, one of the great officers of state. He was elected Bishop of Bath and Wells 20 January 1292-3, and consecrated 17 May 1293. He continued as Treasurer until 1295, when owing to his zeal on behalf of the King (Edward I) he incurred so much odium that the King, somewhat ungratefully, removed him from office. After trying by bribes to get back to the Treasury, March devoted the rest of his life to almsgiving and good works, and he built the magnificent chapter-house of Wells Cathedral. He died 11 June 1302, holding no land in chief, and in debt to the Exchequer to the extent of at least £110, but having among his assets a debt £200 owing by the King for horses which the King had taken from him.⁴

Miracles began to be worked at his tomb, and there was a demand for the canonization of the bishop. In 1324 and 1325 the canons of Wells petitioned the Pope, being supported in the latter year by the whole of the English episcopate, and in 1328 the King (Edward III)

¹ *Warwickshire*, 776.

² *Papal Letters*, I, 530-1.

³ Hibbert-Ware (p. 68) seems to have misunderstood this action, which referred to the advowson of Ashton-under-Lyne, not to that of Manchester.

⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1296-1302, p. 561; 1302-7, p. 5.

also desired the Pope to canonize March. The Pope, John XXII, refused and the miracles ceased. It is a pity. Although Manchester had only a nominal connection with Bishop March, it would at least have looked well to have had a saint in the list of rectors.

Raines's note on March is very inaccurate.

March's successor was

Walter of Langton, Rector, 1293-June 1296.

Walter of Langton, King's clerk, was presented by the King (Edward I) by reason of his custody of the land and heir of Robert Grelley, but there is no record in the usual places of the appointment. It was stated in a lawsuit ¹ in 1304 that Langton was appointed to the vacancy caused by the promotion of William de Marchia to be Bishop of Bath and Wells, and so Langton would probably become Rector in May 1293 or possibly a few months earlier.

We find the first mention of the connection with Manchester of this great churchman in a dispensation which he, described as Walter of Langeton, deacon, papal chaplain, obtained from the Pope (Boniface VIII) 6 Non. Oct. [i.e. 2 October] 1295, "Manincestre" ² being one of several rectories covered by the dispensation, which also authorized him to retain the deanery of the chapel royal of Bridgnorth, ³ the prebend of Thurstock in Hastings, the wardenship of St. Leonard's Hospital, York, and canonries and prebends of London, Salisbury, Lichfield, Wells, Dublin, Chichester, Howden, Auckland and Lanchester. Langton was careless in acquiring places without papal licence and had acknowledged that in asking for a previous dispensation in 1292 ⁴ he had omitted several of his preferments, and on this (1293) occasion he says that he had accepted several "in the hope of papal dispensation." Of course the Pope granted what was wanted, but he asked for Langton's presence in Rome.

Though non-resident Langton took more than a financial interest in at least one of these places, as is shown by the stringent rules he issued in 1294 for the conduct and government of the brothers and sisters of the York hospital. ⁵

As the details of Langton's career are given in Tout's article in the *D.N.B.*, some of them may be omitted here. ⁶

Although Langton is said to have started life as a poor man, he had money, or the control of it, long before he attained high rank in the

¹ De Banco R., 157, Easter 32 Edw. I, m. 71.

² *Papal Letters*, I, 559. As usual, the calendar attributes this to Mancetter.

³ Curiously enough, Professor Tout, in *D.N.B.*, confuses Bridgnorth, Salop, with Bruges, Flanders, the Latin names of the two places being similar.

⁴ *Papal Letters*, I, 550.

⁵ *V.C.H. Yorks.*, III, 337.

⁶ *Papal Letters*, *passim*, and *Cal. Close*, 1279-1350, contain additional data.

King's service, as is shown by the large number of his loans on record,¹ these dating from 1286. Langton had been in the service of Edward I from his own boyhood,² and had early attracted the King's favourable notice. In 1292 he became Keeper of the Wardrobe, and in 1296 he was appointed Treasurer, and as such was the third great officer of the kingdom. He was an efficient controller of the national income, and he was trusted by the King and did well for his master, and also for himself. He had his difficulties, it is true, but thanks to his own money judiciously expended, the personal support of the King, and, perhaps in a lesser degree, to his innocence, he came safely through the ordeal of a papal inquiry as to the truth of charges against him of intercourse with the Devil, murder, adultery, fornication, simony and pluralism, though he was suspended from episcopal functions and revenues for a time. When the Lincoln Parliament of 1301 requested the King to remove him from the office of Treasurer, the principal result seems to have been the imprisonment of the Lancashire M.P., Henry of Keighley, who was the spokesman of those who complained of Langton's methods. Edward II neither liked nor trusted his father's Treasurer, whom he removed from office, accused of various peculations, and kept imprisoned for several years, the King and his favourites meanwhile helping themselves to Langton's hoards of silver. Although for a short time Treasurer again in 1312, the opposition disapproved of him, and the King giving him only half-hearted support, he lost his office. He died 9 November 1321, still a wealthy man, although he had suffered losses, and had been a very generous benefactor of his cathedral church of Lichfield.³

Langton resigned Manchester when his election as Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield was confirmed. The election was on 20 February 1295-6, the temporalities were restored on 16 June 1296 and Langton was consecrated on 22 December 1296⁴ by the papal legate, Berard de Goth, cardinal-bishop of Albano,⁵ brother of Langton's successor at Manchester.

Mr. William Segini del Got, Rector, 20 June 1296-1299.

He was presented 20 June 1296, as Master William del God, King's clerk, by Edward I, then at Stirling, the vacancy being due to the resignation of W., Bishop elect of Coventry, and the living in the King's gift by reason of his custody of the land and heir of Robert Greylle, tenant in chief. A previous presentation, dated Roxburgh, 14 May

¹ *Cal. Close*, 1279-88, 1288-96, *passim*.

² *Ibid.*, 1302-7, p. 81.

³ Cox, *Jour. Derbys. Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc.*, I, 118-22; IV, 107-127.

⁴ Le Neve, *Fasti*, I, 549.

⁵ Tout in *D.N.B.*, where the dates are given differently.

1296, in which the name is given William Segini del God, was cancelled by this grant. On 18 May 1296 he, as Master William Delgot, canon of Wells, brother of Cardinal B., Bishop of Albano, had letters appointing attorneys.¹

This Rector was a member of an important Gascon family, and was one of the King's French subjects. His brother Cardinal Bertrand del Got became, in 1305, Clement V, the first of the Avignon popes, and another brother, Bernard or Berard, was Cardinal Bishop of Albano and Papal Legate in England.² The surname of the Rector and the Pope occurs in many forms, Segini del God, Delgot, Delgod, Segyn, Sygyn, de Got, de Gout, Siguin, de Gouth and de Goth. In some of the lists the Pope is called "the Goth." On his appointment to Manchester the Rector resigned a living he held in the diocese of Agen (in the King's French dominions), having been beneficed there when under age, and obtained a dispensation to hold Maninechestria in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield and to retain canonries and prebends in Agen, Wells, and Howden, and certain tithes in the diocese of Agen.³ In this dispensation he is called "Master William Siguin, papal chaplain."

He also held a prebend in York which he vacated by death, his successor there being appointed 28 September 1299, the vacancy being caused by the death of Master William Segyn.⁴

As the presentation was made in Scotland it seems likely that Segini was there with the King. It is safe to assume that he was never in Manchester, even when going to or from Scotland, the east coast route being then the usual one.

All we know of him as Rector is that he let the proceeds of the living to farm and that his farmer was William of Gringley.

William of Gringley, not Rector.

William of Gringley was Rector of Ashton-under-Lyne,⁵ and also Rector of Marnham, Notts, and has been taken to have been also Rector of Manchester. Raines (p. 3) quoting, inaccurately, the Lichfield Reg. Langton, as authority says, "Dom. William de Gringalee, Rector of the church of Mam'cestr. 1299 covenants to pay out of the rents of the Rectory certain sums to W. Bishop of Cov. & Lich. formerly Rector of the Church of Manchester." Gringley occurs in a lawsuit as Rector of Ashton-under-Lyne in 1282,⁶ and in 1299 he was one of the farmers of the rectory for the absentee rector.⁷ He occurs as one of the witnesses

¹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1292-1301, pp. 189, 190.

² Gams, *Series epis. eccl. Cath.*, xxiii, 571.

³ *Papal Letters*, I, 572, where the place is indexed as Mancetter.

⁴ *Cal. Pat.*, 1292-1301, p. 440.

⁵ *V.C.H.L.*, IV, 194, 348.

⁶ De Banco R., 45, m. 6 (Farrer Collection).

⁷ Lichfield Reg. abstracts (Farrer Collection).

to a deed which can be dated 1276-83, from the office of the first witness, Sir Henry of Lee, then sheriff of Lancaster, Sir Geoffrey of Bracebrugg, then steward of Mamecestr, William of Gryngel, then receiver of the said place, and others.¹ He is mentioned in several pleas as a servant of the Grelleys. In one case it is stated that he was not receiver after the death of Robert Grelley (d. 1282), and others show that he was custodian of some of the lands of Thomas Grelley, Robert's infant son.²

A mistaken reading either of "Marnham" for "Manchester" or of "receptor" for "rector" appears to be the explanation of Gringley's occurrence in the list of Manchester rectors.

Otes of Grandison, Rector, 1299-1306 (?).

Otes of Grandison or Otho or Otto de Grandison was presented by King Edward I, 27 September 1299, the living being in his gift by reason of his custody of the land and heir of Robert Greyly, tenant in chief.³ No cause of vacancy is stated but it was the death of Segini del Got.⁴

The Grandisons were from Neufchatel and were favourites of Edward I and of his brother Edmund Earl of Lancaster. Although they were aliens, Sir Otes (or Otto) of Grandison and his brother Sir William of Grandison were summoned to Parliament in 1299,⁵ and thus, according to modern law, became barons though they were not aware of it, and continued to describe themselves as knights. Our Rector was certainly a nephew of Sir Otes,⁶ and it has been suggested⁷ that he was a son of Sir William by a hypothetical first wife. However, Sir William's only known marriage was in or shortly before 1285,⁸ his wife being a coheir of Sir John Tregoz, whose other coheir was the wife of Roger la Warre, and mother of John la Warre, the first lord of Manchester of that surname. It is unlikely that a man of the importance of Sir William should have had a wife of whom nothing is known. The Rector may therefore have been the son of still another brother, or he may have been an illegitimate son of Sir William or of one of his brothers, or he may have been a more distant relation, for in the Middle Ages "nepos," which is presumably the word used, had a wider meaning than nephew has to-day. If however the Rector was a son, legitimate

¹ *Whalley Coucher*, 42.

² De Banco R., 55, m. 120d; 64, m. 121d; 153, m. 83 (1284-1303) (Farrer Collection).

³ *Cal. Pat.*, 1292-1301, p. 440.

⁴ De Banco R., 151, Easter 32 Edw. I, m. 71.

⁵ G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, new ed., VI, 60, 69.

⁶ *Papal Letters*, I, 594.

⁷ F. J. Baigent-Winchester's pedigree of the family in Hingeston-Randolph's *Register of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter*, Part III.

⁸ G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, new ed., VI, 61.

or otherwise, of Sir William, he was brother or half-brother of Bishop John of Grandison, to whom Exeter Cathedral owes much of its grandeur. It may be mentioned, however, that Sir William of Grandison had a recognized son, Otes or Otho of Grandison, who died in 1359.¹ This Otes, with whom Hibbert-Ware² confuses the Rector, was a younger brother of the Bishop of Exeter, and was therefore born after 1292, when the Bishop was born. He was obviously too young to have been Rector of Manchester in 1299.

It is perhaps worth mentioning, as showing how antiquaries follow each other, that the calendarer's blunder of making Grandison Rector of Mancetter is followed by Mr. Baigent-Wilkinson, by Mr. C. L. Kingsford in his monograph on Sir Otto de Grandison,³ and by Dr. William Brown.⁴

The Grandisons were a successful family both in England and their own country, and our Rector was no exception to the rule, though he died young.

Grandison was probably under age when, in 1299, he was presented to Manchester by the King. He was instituted by deputy 14 Kal. Dec. (18 November) 1299, his deputy being John Gufyn of Grandison.⁵

On the day that Otes was instituted to Manchester he obtained a licence to be absent "at the schools" for two years. Shortly afterwards, on 4 Kal. Apr. (19 March) 1299-1300, the period was extended to five years, and he had letters dimissory for ordination as a subdeacon.⁶

"The schools" doubtless meant Cambridge University, for on 2 June 1301 a commission of oyer and terminer was appointed to inquire touching the persons who by night had assaulted Otto de Grandison, clerk, at Cambridge, and beaten his men.⁷

The fact that he was still at the University did not interfere with that flow of promotion which, as an aristocratic clerk, he might reasonably expect. In 1301 he was Canon and Prebendary of Lausanne and Autun and Rector of three churches, Manicestre, Wilquinton (Wilmington, Sussex) and Picala (Pickhill, York). On 4 March 1300-1 the Pope, at the request of Sir Otes, his uncle, provided him of a canonry and prebend of York, but he was to resign two of his livings, retaining Manchester only,⁸ and on 2 July following the Archbishop issued his mandate to the Dean and Chapter to admit him by proxy.⁹

It was during Grandison's time as Rector of Manchester that Thomas Grelley granted his charter to the town, 14 May 1301, but no clergyman was amongst those mentioned as witnessing this important document.

¹ G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, new ed., VI, 66.

² P. 84. The error is corrected on p. 192, where there are other errors.

³ *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, 3rd ser. III, 184.

⁴ *Register of Thos. of Corbridge*, 9-10 (Surtees Soc.).

⁵ Lichfield Reg. abstracts (Farrer Collection). ⁶ Ibid.

⁷ *Cal. Pat.*, 1301-7, p. 629.

⁸ *Papal Letters*, I, 594.

⁹ *Register of Thomas of Corbridge, Archbishop of York*, II, 9-10 (Surtees Soc.).

In 1304 he was engaged in litigation with Thomas Grelley, who claimed that Ashton-under-Lyne was a parish church and in his presentation, while the Rector alleged that Ashton was a chapel annexed to the church of Manchester.¹ Judging by the later history of Ashton it would seem that the Rector lost the case. To the record in this case we owe the names of four Rectors and the proof that they were of Manchester and not of Mancetter. This lawsuit makes it probable that Grandison actually resided at Manchester for a time, but in the same year, 8 April 1304, letters were issued for Otto of Grandison, parson of the church of Mammecestre, going beyond seas, nominating John Gousyn his attorney for two years,² the attorney being, no doubt, the same as John Gufyn of Grandison already named.

It is not likely that Grandison returned to England. His subsequent career was short and brilliant. Within two years he was Bishop of Toul, being elected in 1306, when he probably resigned Manchester; later in the same year he was translated to Basle, and there he died in 1309.³ He was succeeded as Bishop by a cousin, Gerard de Wyppeyns, sometime Archdeacon of Richmond, a fact that suggests that the family influence was as strong on the Continent as in England.

John son of Griffin, not Rector.

"John son of Griffin de Mancestr Rector" is mentioned by Raines (p. 4) with neither date nor reference. No other mention of him has been found either as Rector of Manchester or otherwise, and he is not included by Dugdale in his list of Rectors of Mancetter.⁴

It is probable that, as assumed by Croston,⁵ the person intended was the John Guffyn of Grandison, mentioned in the notice of Grandison the Rector, whose deputy he was at his institution. His name has been read in various ways by transcribers of records, Cusyn, Cousyn, Griffin, Gufyn, but appears to be Guffyn of Grandison. Hollinworth (p. 31) calls him John Griffin of Grandison. Hibbert-Ware (p. 70) styles him John Griffin de Grandisone, and he and Croston make him the same man as John of Grandison, Bishop of Exeter. But the Bishop was born in 1292, and so was too young to have been the Rector's deputy in 1299. John Guffyn of Grandison occurs in pleas from 1304 to 1307,⁶ suing various persons with local names for debt. Possibly he was Grandison's local agent or perhaps farmer of the rectory during

¹ De Banco R., 149, m. 50; 151, Easter 32 Edw. I, m. 71.

² Cal. Pat., 1301-7, p. 217.

³ Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae Catholicae*.

⁴ *Warwickshire*, 776.

⁵ Baines, *Lancashire*, II, 39.

⁶ De Banco R., 149, m. 336; 152, m. 205; m. 208; 153, m. 244; 155, m. 208; 160, m. 113, 224d; 161, m. 418d; 163, m. 96 (Farrer Collection).

Grandison's term of office, but he was certainly never Rector of Manchester. There is nothing to show whether he was a member of the Grandison family or merely a person born at Grandison whence the Grandison family took their name.

Geoffrey of Stokes, Rector, 1306-1313 (?).

Geoffrey of Stokes, King's clerk, was instituted Rector *pridie Id. Apr.* [12 April] 1306, on the presentation of Thomas of Grelley. He had a fortnight earlier been appointed to the custody of the church in sequestration. When he was instituted the right and possession of the church of Ashton-under-Lyne by Nicholas of Arden, a nominee of the same patron, was reserved, evidently an echo of the suit between a former Rector and Thomas Grelley as to the ownership of the advowson of Ashton.¹ The reason for the sequestration of the church is not stated, but it probably had some connection with the election of the previous Rector as a Bishop which must have been about the same time.

Raines gives the Rector's name as Stoke, as does Hollinworth, and the former points out that Hollinworth and Hibbert-Ware are both mistaken in the date, 1301, they give for the institution, but he does not mention that Hibbert-Ware gave the correct year in his last volume (p. 192).

Stokes was Rector of Gransden, Hunts, in 1302, and resigned Wotton, Surrey, for Brightwell, Berks, in 1304,² in which year he was also Dean of the King's free chapel of Tettenhale, Staffs, when he was inhibited from attempting anything that may tend to the derogation of the royal dignity in connection with that chapel.³

In the records there are unimportant references to his loans,⁴ and on 22 February 1310 a commission of oyer and terminer was issued on complaint by Geoffrey of Stokes, clerk, that Richard Dunning and others had assaulted him at Grittin (i.e. Girton), Cambridge-shire.⁵

The date of Stokes's death or resignation has not been found, nor has any later mention of a clerk of that name than the above in 1310, but as late as 1322 there are references⁶ to Geoffrey of Stokes, not described as clerk, who is probably not the same man.

The confusion of Geoffrey of Stokes with the much earlier Geoffrey the Dean has already been noticed (p. 11).

¹ Lichfield Reg. abstracts (Farrer Collection).

² *Cal. Pat.*, 1301-7, pp. 63, 304.

³ *Cal. Close*, 1302-7, p. 210.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1296-1302, pp. 557, 586; 1302-7, p. 325.

⁵ *Cal. Pat.*, 1307-13, p. 253.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1321-4, pp. 61, 124, 130.

Mr. John of Everdon, Priest, Rector, 1314-1323.

Mr. John of Everdon, priest, was admitted to the vacant church of Mamecestre, in London, 9 Kal. Feb. [24 January] 1313-4, on the presentation of Sir John Le Ware, knight, the true patron, and was canonically instituted.¹ The cause of the vacancy was not stated.

Although he was presented by the local patron Everdon was a king's clerk of the usual type. He had no local associations. It does not appear that he ever resided, but he was Rector when the 1322 extent of the manor of Manchester was made, and is named as Sir John de Everton.²

Of his origin nothing is known, and, as Raines observed, his very name has been made uncertain by the carelessness and ignorance of scribes.

His name appears as Cuerden, Cuerdon, Deeverden, Dekorden, Deuorden, Everd, Everdene, Everdon, Everdone, Eversdon, Everisdon, Everton, Evetisden, Evorden, Verdon, Vorden and Worden. The egregious James Dearden, F.S.A. (alas!) claimed him as a member of his own family, regarding Deuorden as a variant of Dearden, and actually erected a "mediæval" monument to his memory in Trinity Chapel within the parish church of Rochdale.³ Hibbert-Ware, guessing frantically, suggested that Everdon might have been a native of Holland, or of Westphalia (p. 88), but afterwards decided that his name was Verdon and that he was a member of the Staffordshire family of that name (p. 192).

In 1286 a John of Everton, clerk, of Nottinghamshire, was one of the mainpernors for Jordan son of Elias son of Henry of Herewell imprisoned in Warwick Castle.⁴ This may have been Everdon, but seems rather too early for identification to be certain. More probably he is identical with the Master John of Everdon who was fermor of the King's castles and mills of Bollesovre in 1304,⁵ and assessor of the King's tallage in Berkshire in the same year.⁶ In the next two years he appears as keeper of the King's exchange of London and Canterbury, but had ceased to hold that position before 1310 when he was allowed his expenditure about the workmen and moneyers that he caused to come from Brabant to the Tower of London, to strike money there, in the thirty-third year of the late King.⁷ He was very frequently in various commissions of a lay nature, and on 28 November 1307 was appointed a Baron of the Exchequer.⁸ In 1331 he petitioned the King,

¹ Raines, 6-7, quoting Lichfield Reg. Langton.

² Farrer, *Lanc. Inq.*, II, 69.

³ Raines, *Wardens*, I, 6. This and a bishop's monument erected by Mr. Dearden were ultimately buried (Burnett, *Popular Genealogists*, 95; Fishwick, *Rochdale*, 146).

⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1279-86, p. 395.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1302-7, p. 131.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 175.

⁷ *Ibid.*, *passim*; *ibid.*, 1307-13, p. 218.

⁸ *Cal. Pat.*, 1307-13, p. 22.

Edward III, for money due to him when he held this office under the late King.¹ Like all the King's clerks of his day he obtained many ecclesiastical preferments, and he occurs as Dean of Wolverhampton,² Prebendary of Newington St. Paul's, and Dean of St. Paul's, Prebend of Ripon, Canon and Prebendary of Wells, and of Salisbury, Chancellor of Exeter, and Rector of Manchester and of a number of other livings.³

In 1310 he was ordered to be ready to set out in the King's service to parts beyond sea.⁴

Following an inquisition *ad quod damnum* a licence, dated 1 May 1311, was given to him to enclose two parts of the waste of his land, 400 acres, in Wednesfield (near Wolverhampton) within the metes of Cannock Forest, and to cultivate them.⁵ This may have been property held officially as he is described as Dean of the free chapel of St. Peter, Wolverhampton, in this and some other references to property.⁶

In 1322 as Master John of Everdon, parson of the church of Manchestre, he had simple protection for three years.⁷

As showing how prompt the King's clerks were to ask for preferment it may be mentioned that Everdon was presented by the King to the rectory of Bruynton, diocese of Lincoln, on 14 May 1309, and again on 24 September 1309, and that on the 5 October the King revoked the presentation as the living was not vacant.⁸ Again, in 1318 one of the King's clerks was collated to the deanery of Wolverhampton in the mistaken belief that it was void by the demise or resignation of Master John of Everdon, King's clerk, the Dean.⁹ Apparently on the vaguest rumour of a deanery or rectory being vacant, or possibly even on hearing that an incumbent was ill, the clerks besieged the King for a presentation.

The surprising thing about Everdon's ecclesiastical career is that he resigned Manchester on his appointment as Dean of St. Paul's, for at that time there seemed to be no limit to the number and variety of ecclesiastical places that a clerk could hold. Hibbert-Ware (pp. 192-3) says, "my correspondent adds, that De Verdon accepted the deanery of Saint Paul's—he believes in exchange." This is correct, but it was not in exchange for Manchester, as his successor there was never Dean of St. Paul's. The exchange was with Vitalis de Testa, who resigned the Deanery and a Canonry of St. Paul's, London, to Everdon, who surrendered to Testa, in exchange, the canonry and prebend of Tarleton

¹ *Cal. Close*, 1330-3, p. 351.

² *Ibid.*, 1302-7, pp. 163, 370.

³ *Cal. Pat.*, 1307-13, p. 73; *Papal Letters*, II, 23, 42, 172, 188; *Cal. Close*, 1318-23, p. 4; 1323-7, p. 164.

⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1307-13, p. 325.

⁵ *Cal. Pat.*, 1307-13, p. 342.

⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1302-7, pp. 163, 370.

⁷ *Cal. Pat.*, 1321-4, p. 101.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1307-13, pp. 114, 192, 193.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1317-21, p. 113.

in Salisbury and the Rectory of Henney. The papal faculty for the exchange was dated 8 Kal. Oct. [24 September] 1322.¹

His resignation of Manchester was dated 4 Kal. Oct. [28 September] 1323, and he had been admitted Dean of St. Paul's on 15 September 1323. In 1325 Everdon superintended the removal of the body of St. Earconwald to its new resting-place in the chapel of the Blessed Mary.² He held the deanery until his death, 15 January 1336-7. He was buried in the church of St. Faith under St. Paul's. His will was proved 3 February 1336-7.³ By it he endowed a chantry in St. Paul's.

Hollinworth (p. 32) says he "got a dispensation that hee might absent himselfe from his church at the instance of William Herle, knight." There is almost certainly a double blunder here. Hibbert-Ware (p. 96) quotes, at second hand, an entry in the Lichfield register, undated, but *c.* 1327, of a dispensation to John, Rector of the church of Mancetter, at the instance of Sir William Herle, knight. As John Herle was Rector of Mancetter at this time,⁴ it was probably he and not Everdon (who had already resigned Manchester) who had the dispensation.

John of Arden, not Rector.

Between Everdon and Suthwick the *Manchester Diocesan Directory*, 1930, inserts, without dates, a "John de Arden." For this man there is no room as Suthwick filled a vacancy caused by the resignation of Everdon. As a Rector, John of Arden is perhaps another variation of Everdon's name, but it happens that there was a John of Arden, living at the appropriate date, who was grantee in a local deed, dated 10 July 1316, the name being given there as "Sir John son of Richard of Arden, chaplain."⁵ Hibbert-Ware (p. 190) includes him in a list of rectors under date 1316-17, but gives no authority except a reference to p. 88, where he is not described as Rector.

Mr. Adam of Suthwyk, Rector, 1323-1327.

Mr. Adam of Suthwyk, clerk, was instituted ⁶ to the rectory 4 Kal. Oct. [28 September] 1323, on the presentation of Sir John le Warre, knt. John of Suthwick, rector of Papworth [Cambridgeshire], appeared

¹ *Papal Letters*, II, 225.

² Simpson, *Documents St. Paul's Cathedral* (Camden Soc. n.s., 26), 50, 51.

³ Le Neve, *Fasti*, II, 311. Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*, also gives this date on one page, but on another makes the dates of death and will a year earlier.

⁴ Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, 776.

⁵ Hibbert-Ware, 88.

⁶ Hollinworth misdates his institution, 1327.

and answered for the said Adam. The vacancy was caused by the resignation of Master John of Euerdon last Rector.¹ Being "Magister" Adam was presumably a graduate.

He was possibly a native of Southwick, Northants. An early reference to him is dated 1310 when the King granted him an estate of 57 acres 37 perches in the wastes of the forest of Clyve, co. Northants, lying in a chase near Piriho and places called Appenoteshale and Dodhagh abutting on the highway from Suthwyk to Glapthorne, rendering yearly for the same 18s. 6½*d.*, with right to enclose and cultivate but with no right of common. On 5 November in the same year he had licence to grant the same to John Knyvet of Suthwyk, and for the latter to demise it to him for life.²

There is no indication why this small estate was granted to Adam, but it is possible that he was already in the royal service, as he certainly was in February 1314, when, described as clerk, he had protection on his going with the Earl of Gloucester and Hertford beyond the seas on the King's service in the train of Queen Isabella.³ In 1327 he is described as King's clerk and physician, and in the same year licence was granted at his request for the alienation in mortmain by Geoffrey of Bernak, of two messuages in Bernak⁴ and Pillesgate, to a chaplain to celebrate divine service daily in the church of Bernak.⁵

In 1323 and 1324, as parson of the church of Mamecestre, he, by James of Podemore his attorney, appeared in a plea of naifty against Richard, John and Alexander, sons of John of Newton, and Adam Alotessone, but the defendants did not appear.⁶ Presumably these men were natives of church land in Newton who claimed to be freemen and whom the church claimed were serfs.

Before becoming Rector of Manchester he had been from 6 Id. Sep. [8 September] 1319 Rector of Rostherne, Cheshire, resigning on his appointment to Manchester, his successor at Rostherne being appointed 3 November 1323.⁷

Suthwyk died on the last day of July 1327. In 1332 his executors, John Knyvet and John Frauncleyn, both of Suthwyk, sued Alexander of Schoresworth [of Denton] and others, for debt.⁸

John of Claydon, Rector, 1327-1351.

John of Claydon, priest, was admitted to the Rectory of Mammecestre and canonically instituted 9 Kal. Sep. [23 August⁹] 1327, in the

¹ Lichfield Reg. abstracts (Farrer Collection) ; *V.C.H.L.*, IV, 194 ; Raines, 7.

² *Cal. Pat.*, 1307-13, pp. 216, 342.

³ *Ibid.*, 1313-17, p. 86.

⁴ Barnack, Northants.

⁵ *Cal. Pat.*, 1327-30, pp. 107, 108.

⁶ De Banco R., 251, m. 4 ; 253, m. 3 (Farrer Collection).

⁷ Ormerod, *Cheshire*, ed. Helsby, I, 437.

⁸ De Banco R., 290, m. 142, 142d.

⁹ *V.C.H.L.*, IV, 194, gives the date 24 August.

person of Thomas of Wyk, his proctor, he exhibiting sufficient authority in this matter, the patron being Sir John le Ware, knight, and the church having been vacant since the last day of July, by the death of Master Adam of Suthwyck, the last rector there.¹

Raines suggests that Claydon was probably a native of Lancashire. "The Claydons of Tongton, alias Taunton, in the parish of Ashton-under-Lyne, were settled there for several generations and were not unlikely originally from Clayton near Manchester." This family "settled" at Taunton were the Claydens of Clayden, who lived at their name-place, and merely had land at Taunton, and Clayden is not the same place as Clayton, though in the same parish. It seems to be a pure guess by Raines that he was "probably brother of Robert de Claydon, Chancellor of Cambridge Ao. 1340-1,"² and Raines's further suggestion that Claydon was a "relative of John de Claydone, inst. to the 12th stall in St. Paul's Cath. 17 Kal. Nov. 1361," is merely a confusion arising from a wrong date. The Rector was himself the canon, but as the date found by Raines was after the Rector's death, identity seemed impossible, and he had to suggest a relationship. Hibbert-Ware conjectures (p. 97) that "John de Claydon . . . was of a family dwelling in one of the central districts of England, as he appears to have possessed the manor of Woodheved (or Woodhead) . . . in the county of Rutland," he having enfeoffed John la Warre and Jane his wife of that manor. Woodhead was a la Warre manor and obviously Claydon's ownership was merely a nominal one, being a step in re-settling the estate. Such ownership has no bearing on his place of origin.

From the occurrence of his name in local deeds and in la Warre documents we may presume that Claydon was a steward or other trusted officer of the la Warres, and that in accordance with custom, they provided for him by giving him livings in their gift. Prior to obtaining Manchester he was Rector of Swineshead, Lincolnshire, from 1321 to 1327,³ resigning the living on obtaining the more important one of Manchester, both being in the gift of the la Warres. In 1330 he was granted by Pope John XXII the provision of a canonry of St. Paul's, with a reservation of a prebend, notwithstanding that he was Rector of Malmecestre,⁴ and on 17 Kal. Nov. [16 October] 1331 was instituted to the 12th stall in St. Paul's Cathedral.⁵

¹ Lichfield Reg. abstracts (Farrer Collection). Raines, 7, quoting Lichfield Reg. Northburgh. Hibbert-Ware, quoting the same register, gives the patron's name as "La Ware." The *Manchester Diocesan Directory*, 1930, prints the rector's name "Clandon," presumably a misprint, as there is no authority for that spelling of the name which, in the records, is spelled Claydon, Cleydon, Claydone, Claidon, Claiden, Cleidon, Cleydene, Claydene, the first occurring most frequently.

² *Al. Cantab.* gives no biographical particulars of this Chancellor, and there is no notice in *D.N.B.*

³ Information of the Rev. J. C. Gurnhill, Rector.

⁴ *Papal Letters*, II, 321. Indexed to Mancetter.

⁵ Le Neve, *Fasti*, II, 407.

On 26 November 1325 he, described as parson of the church of Swynesheved, acknowledged that he owed a London citizen £40 to be levied on his lands, chattels and ecclesiastical goods in co. Lincoln.¹ In 1 Edward III [1327-8] Sir John of Claydone, parson of Swyneshed, was witness to a grant by John la Warre dated at Isfeld [Isfield, Sussex].² In 1331 and 1332, described as parson of the church of Mamcestre, he appears as party to a series of acknowledgments of debts mostly to Italian creditors, and cancelled on payment.³ The security was his lands, chattels and ecclesiastical goods in co. Lancaster and in other counties.

A debt of £130 which he, "parson of the church of Mamcestre," acknowledged in 1331 he owed to John son of Roger la Warre and undertook to pay in four half-yearly instalments was paid before 1340.⁴ No mention is made of interest.

With the same description, his own name and Mamcestre being spelled erratically, Claydon was a witness to deeds dated at Scefeld (perhaps a mistaken reading for Isfield, Sussex) in 1331⁵: at Mamcestre in 1333⁶: at Porteslade (Sussex) in 1336⁷: at Wakerley (Northants) in 1339⁸: and 1340-1⁹: at Mamcestre in 1341¹⁰: at Wakerley in 1343-4 and 1344-5¹¹: and probably at Wakerley or Manchester in 1347-8.¹²

These deeds are evidence that Claydon was continuously Rector of Manchester and was in Manchester occasionally, and they would suggest that he accompanied his lord from one estate to another, which would necessitate considerable non-residence. The deeds are all connected with the family of la Warre. His close association with that family is also shown by his having been a feoffee of various of the la Warre properties in Rutland, Lincoln, Sussex and Northants.¹³ In each entry his connection with Manchester is stated.

On 12 Kal. June [21 May] 1344, as rector of the church of Mamcestre, he had a dispensation to be absent from his church until Michaelmas in the following year.¹⁴

¹ *Cal. Close*, 1323-7, 523. ² Towneley MS. HH. 2324 (Farrer Collection).

³ *Cal. Close*, 1330-3, 277, 282, 308, 309, 408, 577.

⁴ *De Banco R.*, 286, m. 28d (Farrer Collection).

⁵ *Trans. L. & C. A.S.*, XXVIII, 128. ⁶ *Cal. Charter R.*, V, 176.

⁷ Hibbert-Ware, 97; Raines, 8; Harland, *Mamecestre*, 436.

⁸ *Trans. L. & C. A.S.*, XXVIII, 129.

⁹ Towneley MS. HH. 2235 (Farrer Collection).

¹⁰ Raines, 8. This shows that in addition to the Rector there was another local man of the same name described as chaplain. There was also another John of Claydon, a member of the household of Queen Philippa (*Cal. Pat.*, *passim*).

¹¹ Towneley MS. HH. 3353, 2252 (Farrer Collection); Harland, *Mamecestre*, 439.

¹² Raines, 8.

¹³ Hibbert-Ware, 97; *Cal. Close*, 1346-9, 220-1; *Cal. Pat.*, 1330-4, pp. 49, 149; 1338-40, p. 208.

¹⁴ Lichfield Reg. abstracts (Farrer Collection).

Claydon's death was the cause of the vacancy when his successor was appointed, so he died shortly before 25 August 1351.

John of Herle, Rector of Mancetter.

Roger of Crephull, Rector of Mancetter.

It was during Claydon's time that Raines (pp. 8, 9) foisted two Mancetter rectors into the list of Manchester rectors, namely John of Herle, clerk, and Roger of Crophull, or Crephull, priest. As my father, W. E. A. Axon, pointed out in his note on Claydon,¹ both these men were rectors of Mancetter, and were presented by the local patrons, according to Dugdale,² in 1298 and 1333 respectively. It was probably this John of Herle who was the John, rector of Mancetter, who got a dispensation for absence from his church at the instance of Sir William Herle, knight, and not John of Everdon as stated by Hollinworth,³ and not John of Claydon as stated by Hibbert-Ware (p. 96).

Thomas of Wyke, Rector, 1351-1382.

Thomas of Wyke was instituted rector in August 1351, but the authorities, who all base themselves on the Lichfield Episcopal Register, do not agree as to the precise date, Hibbert-Ware (p. 150) and Raines (9) giving 11 Kal. Sep. [22 August], while Farrer⁴ gives the preceding day, 12 Kal. Sep. [21 August].

The same authorities also disagree as to the designation given to him on that occasion, Raines giving "presbyter," Farrer "chaplain," and Hibbert-Ware gives no description. That Wyke was a priest is certain from other mentions of him. The Lichfield register states that the living was vacant by the death of John of Claydon, the last rector.

Misled by his own blunder in confusing Mancetter with Manchester, and thus adding two rectors to the Manchester list, Raines denies the accuracy of Hibbert-Ware in stating that Wyke was the immediate successor of Claydon.

Wyke's name occurs as *de Wyk*, *de Wyke*, *del Wyk*, *del Wyke*, *de Wike*, *Wyke* and *de Wyche*.

As he is usually styled "dominus" it is probable that he was not a university man, although in a reference or two he is called "magister."

The earliest reference to him I have found is in 12 Edward II

¹ *Trans. L. & C. A.S.*, XXVIII, 130.

² *Warwickshire*, 776.

³ *Mancuniensis*, 31.

⁴ *V.C.H.L.*, IV, 194. The abstracts from the Lichfield Reg. in the Farrer Collection give the same date. Harland (*Mamecestre*, 461) gives the date as 22 August 1347.

[1318-19], when he is named as a witness to a grant by John la Warre.¹ This date is, however, so much earlier than the next mention of Wyke, that there may be a clerical error, the date probably being 12 Edward III [1338]. Assuming his identity, he was proctor for Claydon on his institution in 1327, and so must have been a great age when he died fifty-five years later. He held the rectory of Swineshead, Lincolnshire (a la Warre living), from 1349 to 1351(?) and from 1364 to 1378(?),² and he was Rector of Ashton-under-Lyne, also a la Warre living, from about 1356 to 16 March 1361-2, his successor there being Thomas, son of Thomas of Wyk, who was instituted 4 Id. May [12 May] 1362.³ The youngest rector was probably the son of the Manchester rector, who may have been a widower when he entered orders. There is a possibility that the Ashton rector of 1356 was the younger Wyke, who may have been twice instituted to the same living, but as he was not ordained sub-deacon until February 1362-3, this seems unlikely.⁴

Immediately after his appointment to Manchester Wyke had leave of absence for study.⁵ Although Raines says that "he resided upon his benefice" he gives some of the licences which should have modified the statement.⁶ As a matter of fact Wyke had episcopal licences to be absent for nearly half the time that he held the benefice. As a business man of the la Warres his headquarters may have been on their Lancashire estates, but they were large landowners in other counties and their grants show that Wyke was often at their residence in Lincolnshire and at their other estates elsewhere. He had licences to be absent from Manchester, usually for two years, in 2 Kal. Oct. [30 September] 1355,⁷ in 1357,⁷ in 1360,⁸ 1361,⁸ 1362,⁸ Feb. 1364-5,⁸ March 1366-7,⁸ and Feb. 1370-1.⁹ In 1380 on 6 Kal. Apr. [27 March]⁹ he had leave of absence for three years, which he did not outlive. Sometimes provision was ordered to be made for the service of the church during his absence, a portion of the tithe being appropriated to a *locum tenens*. In Dec. 1360 the licence given to him as Rector of Ashton was for two

¹ Towneley MS. HH. 3249 (Farrer Collection). No. 2241 in the same Towneley MS. is also of doubtful date, as according to the abstract it is a grant by Roger la Warre in 2 Edw. III (1328-9), the year in which Roger appears to have been born.

² Information of the Rev. C. J. Gurnhill, Rector of Swineshead.

³ *V.C.H.L.*, IV, 349: *Lichfield Reg. Stretton* (Wm. Salt Staffs. Hist. Coll., n.s., X), ii, 161.

⁴ *Lichfield Reg. Stretton*, 180.

⁵ *V.C.H.L.*, IV, 194, says this was in the following January, when he was described as a priest, while Hibbert-Ware (p. 104), quoting a Holme MS., says the date was 1352, "5 Nov Octobris," a date which is probably intended for 5 Non. Oct., that is 3 October. *Lichfield Reg. abstracts* (Farrer Collection) gives the date of the dispensation as 6 Id. Jan. 1351 [8 January 1351-2] and the Rector's surname is omitted.

⁶ Raines, 9, 10.

⁷ *Lichfield Reg. abstracts* (Farrer Collection).

⁸ *Lichfield Reg. Stretton* (Staffs. Hist. Coll., VIII, n.s.), 8, 10, 17, 21.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 55, 80.

years' absence so that he might attend the obsequies of Sir Roger la Warre.¹

During Wyke's time, and with his permission, in 1352 and 1361, the chapel of Didsbury acquired some of the rights of a parish church.² At Blackley Roger la Warre was, in 1360, licensed to have an oratory, which was perhaps the origin of Blackley Chapel.³

Described as Rector of Manchester Wyke, while at Screddington, granted land at Newton to Thomas of Booth, and he is named in a deed given at Wakerley by Roger la Warre, "dominus de Mancestr' patronus et advocatus Ecclesiæ de Mancestr'," confirming the Rector's grant, both in 33 Edward III [1358-9] and in the same year he witnessed at Manchester another grant by Roger la Warre.⁴

On 5 Kal. March [25 February] 1362-3 Wyke had licence to choose a confessor and was granted the cure of penitentiary till the following Pentecost, on 5 Id. Feb. [9 February] 1364-5 he had licence to absolve his parishioners and hear their confessions till the end of the following Easter, and on Id. March [15 March] 1367-8 he again had penitentiary for his parishioners till Easter and liberty to choose a confessor for two years.⁵

It is obvious that Wyke was a much trusted servant of the la Warres, for not only was he by them presented to three livings, but his name occurs so often in their documents as to show that he was a necessary person whenever his lord did any important act. In 1329 he as Thomas Wyke or Thomas of Wyke, was attorney for John la Warre in a suit relating to the manor of Wakerley, Northants.⁶ He was one of the witnesses to a la Warre deed given at Scefeld [Isfield] in 1331, and to another given at Wakerley in 1339.⁷ At Wakerley in 1343 he witnessed John la Warre's lease of land in Blackley.⁸ In 1348 he and another man acknowledged that they owed money to a London citizen, and in the same year Sir Hugh Wake acknowledged that he owed £20 to Thomas of Wyke of Screddington.⁹ In 1350 he is mentioned as one of the executors of Margaret la Warre, who was widow of John la Warre, the younger, and mother of Roger la Warre.¹⁰ On 22 May 1351, Joan, widow of John la Warre, who was Roger la Warre's grandmother, being "broken by age," appointed him, and John of Wyke, her general

¹ *V.C.H.L.*, IV, 349. The word is used in a sense now obsolete, for Sir Roger was alive. In *Lichfield Reg. Stretton*, p. 7, the word is translated to "serve."

² Raines, 9; Hollinworth, 36; *V.C.H.L.*, IV, 296.

³ *V.C.H.L.*, IV, 257.

⁴ Towneley MS. HH. 2243, 2242, 2296 (Farrer Collection).

⁵ *Lichfield Reg. Stretton* (Staffs. Hist. Coll., VIII, n.s.), 18, 21, 42.

⁶ Harland, *Mamecestre* (Chet. Soc.) 435.

⁷ *Lancs. & Ches. A.S.*, XXVIII, 128-9. At the first reference I take the name Roke to be a mistake for Wyke.

⁸ Harland, *Mamecestre* (Chet. Soc.), 439.

⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1346-9, pp. 486, 592.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1349-54, p. 229.

attorneys for two years,¹ and in November of the same year Roger la Warre nominated the same two as his attorneys while he was staying beyond the seas.² In a licence dated 18 July 1351, Thomas Wyk, perhaps the same man, is mentioned in connection with a settlement of certain Lincolnshire manors of Roger Lestrangle.³

In Feb. 1360-1 licence was given for the alienation in mortmain by, amongst others, Thomas of Wyke, perhaps not the same man, as he is not described as rector or priest, of three acres of land in Boston, Lincolnshire, to the Prior and Austin Friars in that town.⁴

In 35 Edward III (1361-2) Thomas Wyke, parson of the church of Mamcestre, remitted Thomas of Booth of Barton of all actions,⁵ and Thomas of Wyke of Mamecestre (not called rector) was the first witness named in Roger la Warr's grant to Thomas of the Booth of Barton of all lands in Barton formerly belonging to John, son of Gilbert of Barton, dated at London on the feast of St. Margaret the Virgin, 39 Edward III [20 July 1366].⁶

Wyke was evidently a close and trusted friend of this Thomas of the Booth, who, by his will dated 2 October 1368,⁷ appointed him to be one of his executors, and named him amongst the persons for whose souls' welfare he left money to two chaplains to celebrate before the altar of St. Katharine in Eccles Church.

He occurs also as witness to la Warre deeds dated 1355 at Swineshead,⁸ 1359 at Screddington, 1365-6 at Boudoun, and 1366 at Wakerley, being described therein as of Mamecestre or as parson of the church of Mamecestre.⁹ To many of the deeds a John of Wyke was also a witness.

In 1367, 1377 and 1379, Thomas of Wyke, and Thomas Wyke, chaplain, possibly the rector, occur.¹⁰

Wyke probably died in March 1381-2, but the record of the institution of his successor does not give the cause of the vacancy.

Gervase Holles¹¹ noted that at Screddington there was a "statua in muro boreali" of Thomas Wyke, and gives his reading of the inscription, "Ma . . . a re Thomae Wyke rector p Gaudia de p me tumulus que car . . . II."

The Rev. H. H. Ashley, Vicar of Screddington, obligingly informs

¹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1350-4, p. 96.

² *Ibid.*, 1350-4, p. 170.

³ *Ibid.*, 1350-4, p. 118.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1358-61, p. 554.

⁵ Towneley MS. HH. 3600 (Farrer Collection).

⁶ Raines, 10.

⁷ Towneley MS. HH. 3122 (Farrer Collection), "die lunae proximo post festum Sancti Michaelis archiangeli. Anno dno 1368," but Raines (*Wardens*, 10) gives the date as "47 Edw. III, 1367," and (*Not. Cest.*, II, 48) as "47 Edw. III" [i.e. 1373]. In Baines, *Lancashire*, edited by Harland, I, 283, where the will is printed, the date is given as 20 September 1368.

⁸ Harland, *Mamecestre* (Chet. Soc.), 446.

⁹ Trafford D., 219, 225, 229, 230 (Farrer Collection).

¹⁰ *Cal. Pat.*, 1364-8, pp. 322-3; 1374-7, p. 458; 1377-81, p. 313.

¹¹ *Lincs. Church Notes*, 1634-42 (Lincs. Rev. Soc.), 212.

me that the monument still exists. He describes it as a "recumbent effigy of a priest in vestments in the north wall." The inscription is, he says, indistinct, but he can make out "Thome Wyke Rector P X eccl. Mancuniae," and a date which he takes to be 1401.¹

Thomas la Warre, Rector, 1382-1422.

On 13 March 1381-2 Thomas le Warre, priest, in the person of his proxy, Thomas of Bradeley, clerk, was instituted to the church of Mancestre, at the presentation of Sir John la Warr, kt.¹

It illustrates the value of the printing of historical documents in full that this date has hitherto been overlooked by local historians, though it has not evaded the researches of the editors of the new edition of the *Complete Peerage*.² Hollinworth gives no date, Hibbert-Ware gives "1373(?)," Raines gives no date, and Farrer says "the date of his institution has not been discovered but was probably about 1390." The *Manchester Diocesan Calendar*, 1930, has 1373, and the 1934 edition gives 1390.

Thomas la Warre was the last Rector of Manchester under that title. His family name is very variously spelled la or le Warr with and without a final "e," and with and without the "de."³ In his time the usual spelling seems to have been "la Warre." He was the younger son of Sir Roger la Warre, Lord la Warre, lord of Manchester, by Elizabeth daughter of Adam, Lord Welles. His parents were married, as children, before 14 October 1338. His father had married a second wife before 3 February 1353-4.

His elder brother was born about 1345, being twenty-five when he succeeded his father, who was only sixteen when his successor was born, that is if we may trust the ages given in the inquisitions.

Evidently Thomas was born between 1345 and 1354, probably two years after his brother, in about 1347. Raines (p. 11) gives the date of his birth as "about 1359," and in the next paragraph quotes a deed of 1370 to which one of the parties, as a trustee, was Thomas de la Warre, chaplain. It is not likely that a child of 11 would be either a trustee or a chaplain. Raines's date is perhaps based on the age given in the inquisition post-mortem of John la Warre in 1398, where it is stated that his brother and heir Thomas was aged "over forty years." Here "over forty" must mean considerably over forty, as just forty would make Thomas born after his father's second and third marriages, and it is certain that he was the son of the first marriage.

¹ *Lichfield Reg. Stretton* (William Salt, Staffs. Hist. Coll., X, n.s.), 63-4.

² G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, new ed., IV, 150-1, which has the best documented account of the Rector-Lord. I am indebted to it for several facts.

³ In quotations the spelling of the document quoted is followed.

On 3 Kal. Sep. [30 August] 1363 a papal dispensation was granted to Thomas la Warre, of the diocese of Lincoln, son of Roger la Warre, to be ordained priest, and to hold a benefice, he being in his twenty-first year. This would make his birth in about 1343, before his elder brother was born. Possibly the dispensation was to take effect when Thomas attained his twenty-first year. On the next day he had a dispensation to hold a canonry of Lincoln, with the expectation of a prebend.¹

He and King Richard II were "kinsmen,"² but how is not clear. La Warre's half-sister was descended maternally from Edward I and so was a cousin of the King, but for the Rector himself no blood relationship has been traced. The kinship, such as it was, seems to have arisen through the Hollands. Margaret, wife of Sir John la Warre, and daughter of the first Lord Holland, was grandmother of the Rector, while her brother Thomas, Earl of Kent, was the first husband of Joan of Kent, who, by her second husband Edward, Prince of Wales, the Black Prince, was mother of Richard II. From Joan, Princess of Aquitaine and Wales, being mentioned as having obtained a dispensation from the Pope on his behalf, it may be presumed that the young clerk had been brought up in her household.

In 1372 on 3 Id. Oct. 13 [October] he was as Thomas de la Warre, "having first tonsure" instituted to the church of Ashton-under-Lyne. As the living had been vacant for three months, it looks as if la Warre's appointment was only a stop-gap one, to avoid lapse. It was a family living to which, on this occasion, Sir Lewis Clifford, K.G. (who had married an aunt of the Rector), presented. On 11 October 1373 Master Thomas de la Warre resigned the living.³

Considering his high rank and the custom of the time, Thomas la Warre was very modest in his acquisition of benefices. A well-born priest might easily at that time have become a very great pluralist, but Thomas seems to have been content with a family living or two, and, of course, a few canonries, which did not involve the cure of souls. Perhaps he early developed that dislike of the non-resident incumbent which resulted in the foundation of Manchester College.

The only papal dispensation to him for pluralities is dated 7 Id. Dec. [7 December] 1390, and recites that Thomas le Ware, rector of Manchester, in the diocese of Lichfield, who holds also the free chapel of Barthorpe, in the diocese of Lincoln, and the canonries and prebends of New Lafford in Lincoln and Grandale in York, who is by both parents of baronial race, at the petition also of King Richard, whose kinsman he is, is dispensed to hold together with the said church a benefice with cure, even a dignity—even major in a cathedral or metropolitan, or principal in a collegiate church, and elective-personatus, administration or office, or a parish church, and to exchange both as often as

¹ *Papal Letters*, IV, 31. *Papal Petitions*, I, 456. ² *Papal Letters*, IV, 356.

³ *Lichfield Reg. Stretton* (Wm. Salt Staffs. Coll., X, n.s., II), 175-6.

he will for, and to hold for two years, similar or dissimilar benefices, provided that within two years he exchange either his said church or such benefice for another benefice compatible with the remaining one, otherwise his said church must then be resigned.¹

In 1396 he had an indult that the confessor of his choice may grant him, being penitent, plenary remission at the hour of death, he being described as Thomas de la War, canon of Lincoln.²

La Warre's other clerical appointments were Canon of Lincoln, with expectation of a prebend, 1363; Prebendary of New Lafford in Lincoln Cathedral, 1376-1427, a position which made him ex-officio Patron and apparently Rector of New Sleaford,³ Lincs, which was served by a Vicar; Canon of Grindall, York, 1381-1427; Rector of Swineshead, Lincs., three times, 1378-82, 1394-1400, and 1422, probably to his death 1427;⁴ Prebendary of Oxton and Cropwell, Southwell, 1397-1407;⁵ Prebendary of Riccall, York, 1407-27; Prebendary of Leighton Ecclesia, Lincoln, after 1 March 1416-17 to 1418; Prebendary of Ketton, Lincoln, 1418-27; Incumbent of the Free Chapel of Barthorpe; resigned 1398.

On 20 February 1389-90 he had licence for two years' absence from Manchester, and was allowed to let the living to farm.⁶

On the last day of February 1392[-3] Sir John, parish priest of Mancestre, had licence to hear confessions at the church of Mancestre.⁷ Sir John was presumably curate either at Manchester, under la Warre, or at Mancetter under Brynkelowe. A Sir John of the Scholes, chaplain, is mentioned in contemporary deeds.⁸

There are several records which suggest that Manchester was not la Warre's only foundation, but it is not always clear that the grants in which he and others were concerned were made as owners or as trustees for others. In 1390 he and others had licence for the alienation in mortmain to the Abbot of Barlynges, Lincs., of messuages and land in Neubell, Langwath, Maydenwell and Scupholm.⁹ In 1400 he had a similar licence for the alienation of 90 acres of meadow in Swineshead to the Abbot and Convent of Swineshead, which was stated to be in full satisfaction of a licence by letters patent of Edward III,¹⁰ who had died nearly a quarter of a century earlier. In 1405 he had licence to enfeoff William Thirning, knight, and others of 50 acres of meadow

¹ *Papal Letters*, IV, 356.

² *Ibid.*, V, 30.

³ *Cal. Pat.*, 1388-92, p. 469, where he is described as parson of the church of St. Denys, New Sleaford. The *Complete Peerage* calls him Vicar of Sleaford, which seems unlikely, as he was the parson. William Rouceby was certainly Vicar in 1411 and 1421 (Farrer, *Final Concords*, III, 65, 70; Hibbert-Ware, 146).

⁴ Information of the Rev. C. J. Gurnhill, Vicar of Swineshead.

⁵ *Cal. Pat.*, 1405-8, p. 331.

⁶ Lichfield Reg. extracts (Farrer Collection).

⁷ *Ibid.* (Farrer Collection).

⁹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1388-92, p. 193.

⁸ Raines, *Lancs. Chantryes*, I, 35.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1399-1401, p. 285.

and 300 acres of pasture called Caldecote in Tiryngton in Sixhill.¹ The reason for this is not given, but two years later we get the explanation, for on 2 June 1407 the Prior and Convent of Sixhill, and the nuns of the same house, obtained licence for Thirning and the others to enfeof Thomas la Warre, clerk, of the land called Caldecote, held in chief, and for him to grant the same to the Prior in mortmain for the celebration of divine service daily in the priory for the good estate of the said Thomas and for his soul after death and the souls of his parents and benefactors and the maintenance of other charges and works of piety.²

On 16 May 1415 Thomas lord de la Warre had licence to release in mortmain to the Prior and Convent of St. Mary and St. Thomas the Martyr, Newerk (de Novo Loco) by Guildford, co. Surrey, who hold their manor of Sende, co. Surrey, of him as of his castle of Eweas Harard, co. Lincoln, by homage, fealty and a rent of 26s. 8d. yearly and also after the cession or decease of each prior by the name of relief, the said service, rent, relief and custom and scutage if any, they rendering yearly to him and his heirs *id.* at the said manor if sought, and for the prior to purchase the same to hold in frank almain.³ This looks like a sale rather than a gift to the convent.

The most important benefaction of the Rector-Lord was the collegiation of the parish church of Manchester, by which he made provision for a body of resident priests in the parish. He had probably nursed the idea for some time before he actually accomplished it, as the nominal founders were the feoffees whom he had appointed as early as 1411.⁴

The documents in the elaborate process of collegiation are given in full, in Latin and in translation, by Hibbert-Ware (pp. 143-?), with the exception of the Papal confirmation which was unknown, until its existence was revealed in 1906 by the publication of *Papal Letters*, volume VII, following which it was printed, with a facsimile, and translation by Canon Moyes, by the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society (*Transactions*, XXIV, 11).

Hollinworth (pp. 41-2) says the college was "in honour of St. Mary (to whom this parish church was formerly dedicated) and of St. Dyonyse, Patron St of France, and St. George, Patron St of England (the said Thomas de la Warre being partly a Frenchman and partly an Englishman)." Raines (p. 14) says that in the charter the first name, the Virgin Mary, occurs alone. Hibbert-Ware (p. 164) gives a translation of the words of the charter "to the praise and honour of the omnipotent God, and of the glorious Virgin and mother of the same, to the honour of whom the said church of Manchester having been dedicated, subsists, and of the holy martyrs Dionisius and George." Even if this phrase in the charter means that there was a triune dedication of the

¹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1405-8, p. 55.

² *Ibid.*, p. 334.

³ *Cal. Pat.*, 1413-16, p. 324. *Cal. Close*, p. 211.

⁴ Farrer, *Final Conc.*, III, 65.

church or the college it is certain that later generations ignored the two martyrs and referred to the college by the name of the Blessed Mary, Our Lady, or very occasionally the Blessed Virgin Mary, until the Elizabethan charter changed the name to the College of Christ or Christ's College. The reason given by Hollinworth is not borne out by the pedigree of the founder which shows no recent intermarriage with a French family. There is a chance, as his father was for long engaged in the French wars, that the Rector-Lord was born in France, but of this there is no evidence. The dedication was probably intended as a compliment to Henry V, who at the time the licence was obtained was King of England and heir to the kingdom of France. St. Denys was patron saint of Sleaford, of which la Warre was parson.

Whitaker,¹ obsessed by his theory of the identity of Rector and Dean, assumes that the Rector-Lord was the anonymous "Decanus Decanatus de Mamcestre," who sealed the parishioners' approval of the collegiation of the parish church. This theory was adopted and afterwards rejected by Hibbert-Ware (pp. 129, 188, 189). There is, however, no reason to suppose that la Warre was Dean of Manchester.

On the death of his brother John in 1398, the Rector inherited the peerage and the great estates of the family in Lancashire, Lincolnshire, Northants, Surrey, Sussex, Wilts, Somerset, Gloucestershire and Bristol.² He was summoned to Parliament and must have been one of the earliest clergymen to sit in Parliament as a lay lord.³ On 10 January 1401-2 he had licence to absent himself for three years from Parliaments and Councils, but in 1403 he was commanded to come with all speed before the King, under pain of forfeiture.⁴

The statement in Assheton's *Brief Account* as quoted by Raines, that after his brother's death "he obtained a dispensation from the Pope to marry upon this condition, that he should found a College in the same place where he had been Parson," is obviously inaccurate. The papal dispensations relating to English persons have been calendared and there is no dispensation for Thomas La Warr's marriage. No marriage took place, and that being the case there was no need for La Warr to pay the price presumed to have been exacted by the Pope for allowing him, a priest, to marry. If Thomas ever intended to marry it would be presumably for the purpose of having an heir, and in that case the desire would have come to him as soon as he inherited the title in 1398, and he would have erected his college and got married promptly. Yet he had been Lord la Warre for nearly a quarter of a century before he founded the College. The whole story that the

¹ *Manchester*, 4to ed., II, 391-2.

² *Cal. Fine R.*, XI, 280.

³ One of the Lords Dacre, an earlier example, was summoned in 1362 (*Complete Peerage*, IV, 4).

⁴ *Cal. Pat.*, 1401-5, p. 294. Many other references to him in his lay capacity are in *Cal. Close* and *Cal. Pat.*, *passim*.

foundation was a compulsory one, and not of his own free will, falls to the ground.

Thomas la Warre is entitled to all the credit due to one who tried to prevent abuses continuing in the church of Manchester. The members of the College did not carry out his intentions, but much as they, or some of them, neglected their duties, the church of Manchester was always better served by the Warden and Fellows than it had been by the Rectors.

La Warre was probably himself at least an occasional resident in Manchester, where there was a Rectory described in a deed of 1415 as being "in le Denesgate" (Trafford Deeds, 27, Farrer Collection).

The Rector-Lord settled the family estates on his half-sister's son, the ancestor of the present Earl De La Warr. Hibbert-Ware says that by the law of descent these estates should have gone to the Griffins, more distant relations, who were thus deprived of their inheritance. But as Thomas Lord la Warre settled his estates on the person who, as heir general of the first two lords, inherited his peerage, it seems a reasonable thing to have done.

The precise date of la Warre's resignation of the rectory of Manchester has been variously given. In one place ¹ Farrer states that he was Rector to his death, which he there gives as occurring in 1426, but in another volume ² he, more correctly, gives the date of death as 1427, and says "he resigned the rectory of Manchester in order that the college he founded in its place might begin its work without incumbance." In the foundation charter, dated 5 August 1421, la Warre is styled "nunc rector ecclesie de Mamcestre," ³ in the document, ⁴ dated 23 November 1422, by which he presented the first Warden, he describes himself as "nuper ultimum rectorum," but in the papal confirmation, ⁵ dated 26 April 1426, he is mentioned as one of the petitioners, and as Rector, so presumably the Pope's confirmation of the collegiation had followed the wording of the original petition some years earlier in date. Actually the foundation was made and the first Warden appointed long before the papal confirmation was granted. La Warre's resignation of Manchester was accepted by the Bishop on 23 November 1422, and on the same day the late rector presented Master John Huntyngton, chaplain, Bachelor in decrees, to the Wardenship, and on 25 November Huntyngton was admitted. ⁶

In 1422, when la Warre resigned Manchester, he was again instituted Rector of Swineshead, and on 15 May 1423, when letters of fraternity were granted to him by the Prior and Convent of Durham, ⁷ he is

¹ *V.C.H.L.*, I, 334.

² *Ibid.*, IV, 194.

³ Hibbert-Ware, 154.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁵ *Trans. Lancs. & Ches. Antiq. Soc.*, XXIV, 16.

⁶ Lichfield Reg. extracts (Farrer Collection).

⁷ *Durham Obit Rolls* (Surtees Soc., LXXXV), 109.

described as Sir Thomas de l'Ware et de Manchestre, Canon of York and Lincoln and Rector of the parish church of Swynnesheued. Perhaps in old age he sought rest and nursing in monastic seclusion. Thomas la Warre died 7 May 1427, and was probably buried at Swineshead, in which church his arms were formerly in a window, with the inscription, "Orate pro bono statu Thome domini de la Warre."¹

The inquisitions taken after his death show that he had estates in Lincolnshire, Northants, Somerset, Sussex, Gloucestershire, Wilts, and Bristol town as well as in Lancashire. Several inquisitions state that his heir, by virtue of divers fines, was Reynold West, and all state that John Griffon was heir or heir general.

Thomas la Warre ranks as the founder of Manchester's first and greatest foundation, which, with modifications due to changing circumstances, is to-day the source of the main part of the income of all the churches of the Establishment within the old parish of Manchester.

William Brynkelowe, Rector of Mancetter.

Cal. Pat. R., 1399-1401, indexes to Manchester, a reference to William Brynkelowe, parson of the church of Mancetre in dio. Lichfield. That Brynkelowe was at Mancetter and not at Manchester is shown not only by Dugdale² but by an earlier volume of the same *Calendar* (1391-6, pp. 166-7), in which, in July 1392, are recorded complaints that Brynkelowe and others had expelled William Saxy, parson of Mancestre, and had trespassed in his close at "Manecestre, co. Warwick." Evidently there was a disputed presentation to Mancetter, for this was after Brynkelowe's presentation to that rectory. Brynkelowe carried his point, and remained rector for many years, while Saxy is not mentioned by Dugdale. Curiously enough, Brynkelowe, then a canon of Lichfield, was the procurator appointed by the Lichfield chapter to agree to the collegiation of the church of Manchester in 1421.³

¹ Holles, *Lincs. Church Notes*, 1634-42 (Lincs. Rec. Soc.), p. 169.

² *Warwickshire*, 776.

³ Hibbert-Ware, 158-9.

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THE COURT LEET OR PORTMOOT RECORDS OF SALFORD

1735 - 1738

with a transcript of a roll of 1559

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1935



INTRODUCTION

SALFORD has been less fortunate than its greater neighbour, Manchester, in the preservation of its ancient borough records. The medieval records of both have perished, but those of the Manchester court leet from 1552 to 1846 and the accounts of the constables of the borough from 1612 to 1776 were preserved and transferred by the last lord of the town to the newly incorporated borough in 1846. The extant post-medieval records of the Salford portmoot or court leet begin earlier than their Manchester parallels, but save for a clear run from 1597 to 1669 they are fragmentary, while only the constables' accounts for 1636-40 have survived.¹ The earliest Salford portmoot records which we have, dating from the second year of Henry VIII, are entered, in accordance no doubt with medieval practice, upon the same rolls as those of the hundred court of which the town was the meeting-place and whose hereditary stewards, the Molyneux of Sefton and Croxteth, later earls of Sefton, presided in both, the fines and amercements in each case going to the king as duke of Lancaster.² A few of these rolls of sixteenth-century date have survived among the Duchy records, now in the Public Record Office.

In or just before 1597 the association with the hundred court records was abandoned³ and the minutes of the portmoot began to be entered not on rolls but in a book. Nevertheless the book, though it was, later at all events, known as the town's book and was in the keeping of the borough reeve for the time being, would seem to have been still considered as the property of the hundred court. For when in 1868 it was amalgamated with the 'Court of Record for the trial of civil actions in the city of Manchester' as the 'Court of Record for the Hundred of Salford,' the minutes of the seven town courts between 1735 and 1738 which are here printed passed with its other records

¹ *Salford Portmote Records*, vol. ii (Cheth. Soc., N.S. 48), pp. 230-40.

² The rolls are indeed essentially hundred court rolls, the minutes of the portmoot being appended to those of the higher court and the small profits added to its larger ones.

³ In the middle of the seventeenth century the portmoot is indeed found for a time doing some at least of the work of the hundred court, its bailiffs executing their office in various parts of the hundred and being once described as 'bailiffs for Salford Hundred' (*op. cit.*, pp. 132, 136-7, 139, 157, 168). This, however, only occurs during the Commonwealth.

to the new court and are now in the custody of the town clerk of Manchester as its registrar.¹

In chronological order the surviving relics of the Portmoot records are in four sections, each in a different repository:

- (1) Rolls in P.R.O. including eleven courts between 1510 and 1531 and one in 1594. These were edited by me, in *Chetham Miscellanies*, iv, N.S. 80.²
- (2) Transcript of part of a roll containing minutes of a portmoot held on 30 March, 1559. In Raines MSS. (Chetham Library) xxxvii B, p. 389. Printed in appendix below, p. 18.
- (3) A quarto book containing the records of the court from 1597 to 1669. This was not known to be extant until 1894, when it appeared in the sale of archdeacon Maltby's library at Nottingham and was purchased for the Salford Corporation. It was edited in two volumes by Alderman Mandley in 1902 for this Society (N.S. 46, 48).
- (4) Sixteen pages (three blank) of a book containing the minutes of the courts from October 1735 to October 1738, both inclusive. In the custody of the Registrar of the Salford Hundred Court of Record in the Town Hall, Manchester. Printed below.

With the inclusion of Nos. (2) and (4) in the present *Miscellany*, the work of printing all known surviving remnants of the original rolls and books of the Portmoot is completed.

The manuscript of the portion here printed is a mere fragment of a large book. It consists of eight leaves, measuring $13\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ inches, as compared with the $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches of the 1597-1669 book. They are paged 489 to 504 (pp. 492, 497, 500 blank) and, if this was the end of the volume, it was nearly as long as the earlier book. There seems to have been no permanent clerk of the court for the records of the courts are in several hands. The heading of the October court of 1736 and of both courts in 1737³ have 'The Court Leet or Portmote' in black letter. Compared with the court minutes of the seventeenth century, edited by Mandley, these records of the Court Leet, as it is now called in the headings, though 'or Portmote' is thrice added, are disappointingly brief and uninformative. There is no list of burgesses, the burgesses and inhabitants amerced for non-attendance are no longer named individually, the long lists of alehouse keepers fined for breaking the

¹ Cf. *V.C.H. Lancs.*, iv, 173.

² I take this opportunity of correcting my mistake there (p. 3) in identifying the priory of St. Thomas the Martyr with the Benedictine priory of St. Thomas of Upholland. It was the priory of Austin canons at Stafford, who were lords of the manor of Pendleton (*op. cit.*, iv, 393).

³ 'Borough or Village of Salford' in these headings is a less accurate translation of the 'burgus vel villa de Salford' of the old Latin headings than the 'borough or town' of the Commonwealth records when they were first (for a time) Englished.

Assize of Ale and of owners of wandering swine have disappeared. In fact, the only survivals of the old court leet business, apart from the election of officers and the requirement of suit and service from new landholders and the heirs of old ones, are a few ameracements for not cutting hedges, removing rubbish or cleansing ditches, for parking vehicles in the public street and for non-payment of the taxes levied by the town constables.

The Salford court leet was evidently in an advanced stage of the decay which had been gradually sapping the vigour and utility of this ancient institution throughout the country. At Salford its small police jurisdiction had long been lost to the justices of the peace. The last recorded case of ameracement for assaults and affrays, with or without bloodshed, is in 1655. The procedure of the court in which the jury doubled the parts of accusers and judges, without hearing the accused in their defence, was out of date. More stringent legislation had removed the control of the drink traffic from its ineffective hands. The neglect of its orders and its inability to enforce its ameracements seem deducible from the anonymity of those amerced for non-attendance as well as from the abandonment of all attempt to enforce the bylaws as to straying pigs and the discontinuance of the election of officers to carry them out. Other officers who were no longer elected were those who had looked after the town pump and those whose duty it had been to prevent thefts of coal from carts in transit.

If the original jurisdiction of the court leaves little trace upon these final records, its routine business in the more important of its two annual meetings, that held in October, is more regularly and formally minuted. The jury, after choosing the officers, twenty-six in number, for the ensuing year, orders the outgoing borough-reeve to bring in the town's box (containing the charter of 1230 and other documents) and the (court) book at the next meeting of the jury, the outgoing constables to bring in their accounts for the past year at the affeering (affairing) of the court and the new officers to come in at the affeering and take their oaths of office. The penalty for non-performance of these orders was a fine of £5, but it would seem that this was far from exacted in full. It is likely that the next meeting of the jury preceded that for the affeering of the court when the minutes taken in court, as reduced to order and entered in the court book, were examined and approved by the two appointed affeerors.

The orders to the officers, old and new, are followed by one to any new burgesses to come in at the affeering and to any others who had acquired lands in Salford to come to court and do suit and service.

The most important business at the affeering was the reception of the accounts of the two constables, for they were responsible for the town's finance, defraying its comparatively small expenses and meet-

ing the demands of the state by raising 'lays.' Unfortunately on the two occasions, in 1735 and 1736, when the constables were prompt with their accounts, all that is recorded is a credit balance of about £7 in the first case and a little over £5 in the second. A few accounts of a century earlier which have been preserved show an average outgoing of about £26.¹

As the business of the great court in October had dwindled to so little, it might not have been surprising had the other and far less important session in April or May ceased to transact any business at all. Even in the first half of the seventeenth century, though it was regularly held, the number of burgesses who troubled to attend was almost never enough to form the minimum jury of twelve, and without a jury nothing could be done. This was, however, only an exaggeration of a general difficulty arising out of the nature of the borough franchise. There were 44 burgesses in 1601,² but these included the earl of Derby and a number of the local gentry, who never attended; as the burgages were hereditary others were minors for years; sale and inheritance tended to accumulate burgages in single hands. Sir William Radcliffe of Ordsall died in 1568 possessed of nearly fifty³ and the process continued on a smaller scale through the next century. By 1648 the number of burgesses had fallen to 36 and by 1667 to 25.⁴ Under the Commonwealth the difficulty was met by including in the juries a gradually increasing number of the more substantial non-burgesses, 'inhabitants,' as they were officially called, who had long shared with the burgesses the burden of all the offices of the borough, except the highest, that of borough-reeve. Henceforth larger juries than the 12 to 15 of the earlier period became the rule, and in 1735-8 only two numbered less than 20 and the maximum was 26. So far as the extant records go, there was no difficulty in getting a jury even for the spring court, unless it was in 1668, when no court is entered at that time.

The popularization of the jury service is very evident on examination of the names of the jurors in the seven successive courts of our document. The total number of jury services was 146 and these were performed by 100 persons, so that the burden did not recur normally until after an interval of nearly eighteen months. This was in strong contrast to the days when the jurors were drawn from a very limited body of burgesses and service for several years without a break was common. Of names of eighteenth-century jurors which are familiar in the earlier lists and may be those of hereditary burgesses, there are

¹ Mandley, *Salford Portmote Records*, ii (Cheth. Soc., N.S. 48), pp. 230-40

² *Ibid.*, i, p. 23.

³ *V.C.H. Lancs.*, iv, 212. In 1346 there had been some 130 burgages (*ibid.*, p. 206).

⁴ Mandley, *Salford Portmote Records*, ii (Cheth. Soc., N.S. 48), pp. 97, 218.

only eight: Aldred, Birch, Bolton, Dickenson, Johnson, Percival, Scholes and Warmingham. The Byroms, Booths and Pilkingtons, prominent in the seventeenth century, are no longer represented.

Thanks are due to the Town Clerk of Manchester, Mr. F. E. Warbreck Howell, for kindly giving his consent, as Registrar of the Salford Hundred Court of Record, to the publication of these records.

SALFORD COURT LEET RECORDS, 1735-1738

[p.] 489

Court Leet held at Salford the [blank] day of October in the 9th year of his Majesties King George the Second's Reign over Great [Britain] and so forth and in the year of [our] Lord 1735.

Roger Neild Gen' ¹	W ^m Barron Gen'
W ^m Foden Gen'	Samuell Acton Gen'
Jn ^o Warmingham Gen'	Rich ^d Bury Gen'
Fothergill Busfield Gen'	Tho ^s Chadwicke Gen'
John Bower Gen'	Samuel Bradshaw Gen'
Charles Mills Gen'	Rich ^d Barton Gen'
Thomas Parrin Gen'	John Gillard Gen'
W ^m Aldred Gen'	Samuel Worthington Gen'
John Roylance Gen'	John Wattson Gen'
Jn ^o Fyldes Gen'	Tho ^s Oldham Gen'

Mr Charles Bramwell Boroughreeve
 Mr William Fowden } Constables
 Mr Rich^d Whitehead }
 Mr Will. Warmingham, George Batterby [*sic*] and John Millet Miselayers
 Mr Tho. Percivall and Arthur Burgess Misegatherers
 Mr James Dain and Charles Mills Assistance (*sic*) Sworn
 Mr Will. Barton and Chris. Holt Scavengers for Lower Gate Sworn
 Mr Holbrook Pawlet and Samuel Holme for Green Gate Sworn
 Mr Peter Dain and Jono^a Whittaker for Weight[s] and Measures Sworn
 Mr Joseph Smethurst, Mr Peter Martin Ale ffounders Sworn
 Mr Thos Chadwick and Jn^o Nightingale Appraisers Sworn
 Mr Geo. Scoales, Jn^o Birch, Jn^o Turner, Geo. Barlow Bylawmen Sworn
 Joseph Wright and Henry Williamson Dogmusselors Sworn

The Jury do amerce all burgesses that have made default in appearance at this court in sixpence each and all inhabitants in three pence each.

¹ To Neild's name 'mort' is prefixed and to each of the others, except Warmingham, Busfield and Mills, a cross. Its meaning is uncertain. Perhaps these three were unable to serve. This would slightly modify my remark on the number of jurors in this period.

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Ordered that Mr Charles Bramwell the present Boroughreeve do bring in the Town's Box with Book at the jury's next meeting or the Jury do amerce him five pounds. Performed.

Ordered that Mr George Battersby and Mr John Millet Constables for the year last past do bring in their accounts at the affairing of the Court or the Jury do amerce them in five pounds. Performed.

Ordered that all the inhabitants elected for officers for the year ensuing do come in at the affairing of the court and take their respective oaths belonging to their office or the Jury do amerce [them] in five pounds each.

Affeerd to one pound

The Jury do order the persons following to come in burgesses at the affairing of the court or the Jury do amerce them in forty shillings each. John Stock Esq. performed, Rob^t Bowker Gent. performed, the heirs of Will. Burch Esq.

The Jury having examined the Constables' accounts Mr John Millet and Mr Geo. Battersby and [*sic*] do find in their hands six pounds, nineteen shillings and sixpence of which $\frac{3}{4}$ is paid to Jonaⁿ Wittaker and Peter Daine, six pounds, sixteen shillings, twopence to the present Constables Mr Will. Foden and Mr Rich^d Whitehead. P[erformed ¹].

The Jury do amerce Humphry Marsden forty shillings if he does not fall his hedge and open his ditch lying in Oldfield Lane and Back Lane belonging to his tenement before 25th December next. Performed.

The Jury do amerce the persons following for not paying their Constable Tax in eighteenpence each. Tho. Percivall, Rob^t Boardman and William Fenton.

Affeerd by

ROGER NEILD

WILLIAM FOWDEN

¹ Here and often later this note was added some time after the record was made up.

[p.] 491

Court Leet held at Salford the 12 day of May in the ninth year of his Majesties King George the Second's Reign over Great Britain and so forth in the year of our Lord 1736.

The Names of the Jury Viz^t

Henry Dickenson Gent.¹
 Add^m Crouchly Gent.
 Rich^d Gorton Gent.
 William Millit Gent.
 James Bradshaw Gent.
 Nehemiah Goodier Gent.
 Richard Patteson Gent.
 Edward Goddard Gent.
 Robert Slack Gent.
 Richard Preistnall Gent.
 Robert Marsden Gent.
 Daniel Smith Gent.

Thomas Wakefield Gent.
 Peter Martin Gent.
 Peter Guest Gent.
 Samuel Roylance Gent.
 Thomas Wright Gent.
 Peter Hambleton Gent.
 John Heys Gent.
 Ad^m Chadwicke Gent.
 George Battersby Gent.
 Thomas Percivall Gent.
 Will^m Marsh Gent.

The Jury do order that M^r John Warmingham do in a month's time remove his rubbish and stones lying before his lands near Salford Chapple or the Jury do amerce him in twenty shillings. Performed.

The Jury do order that M^r Will^m Dawson do come into court this day forthwith to do his suit and service for the lands he holds in Salford formerly belonging to M^r Johnⁿ Dawson deceas'd or the Jury do amerce him in twenty shillings. Performed.

The Jury do amerce the burgesses who have made default in their appearances at this court in sixpence each and all inhabitants defaulting in threepence each.

The Jury do order the present boroughreeve to cause these orders to be fairly entred in the Town's Booke.

[Page 492 is blank.]

¹ To each name, except those of Crouchly, Bradshaw and Preistnall, an 'a' is prefixed or suffixed. For its possible meaning, see above, p. 6.

The Borrough or } The Court Leet or Portmote held at Salford
 Village ¹ of Salford } aforsaid the thirteenth day of October in the
 tenth year of his majesty King George the
 second's reign over Great Britain and so forth
 and in the year of [our] Lord 1736.

LAW[RENCE] WILSON Gen'

Deputy Steward of the same ²

The Names of the Jury

John Warmingham Gen'	Samuel Hulm Gen'
John Duehurst Gen'	Peter Bayley Gen'
Humphry Marsden Gen'	Christ ^t Holt Gen'
Samuel Holland Gen	Richard Davenport Gen'
George Scholes Gen'	Samu ^{ll} Andrew Gen'
John Withington Gen'	John Wroe Gen'
Peter Walker Gen'	John Clayton Gen'
Edward Massey Gen'	Henry Birtles Gen'
Ellice ffarnworth Gen	William Taylor Gen'
Edward Garnett Gen	Holbrooke Pollett Gen'
Boroughreeve	Mr Adam Crouchly Jr'
Constables	{ Mr John Withington } Jur'
	{ Mr Robert Slack }
	{ Mr Richard Gorton }
Mizelayers	{ Mr Richard Whithead Jur' }
	{ Mr William Foden }
Mizegatherers	{ Mr Henry Bircles Jur' }
	{ Mr James Deane }
Scavengers for Lower Gate . .	{ Mr Jame[s] Barlow Inholder }
	{ Mr Thomas Roe Jur' }
Scavengers for Green Gate and	{ Mr William Bircles }
Gravel Hole	{ Mr Rich ^d Deavenport Jur' }

Officers for Weights and Measures	{ Mr Jonathan White aker } Jur'
	{ Mr Peter Deane }
Ale Founders	{ Mr Joseph Wright } Jur'
	{ Mr Henry Croft }
Appraisers	{ Mr Thomas Chadwick }
	{ Mr John Nightingale }

¹ See above, p. 2 n.

² Representing the hereditary steward of the hundred of Salford and of the Portmote, Richard Molyneux, viscount Molyneux of Maryborough (1717-38).

Bylawmen	{	Mr Geo. Scholes
		Mr John Birch
		Mr John Turner
		Mr Geo. Barton
Dog mussellors	{	Mr Joseph Smethurst
		Mr Peter Martin Jur'
Assistant for the Boroughreeve .	{	Mr Christophe[r] Holt
		Mr Sam ^{ll} Andrew

The Jury do amerce all burgesses that have made default in appearance at this court in 6^d each and all the inhabitants in 3^d each.

Ordered that Mr Charles Bramwell the present Boroughreeve do bring in the Town's box with book at [the] Jury's next meeting or the Jury do amerce him in five pounds. Performed.

Ordered that Mr Richard Whitehead and Mr W^m Foden Constables for the year last past do bring in their accounts [at the] affairing of the court or the Jury do amerce them in five pounds each. Performed.

Ordered that all the inhabitants elected for officers for the year ensuing do come in at the affairing of the court and take their respective oaths belonging to their respective offices or the Jury do amerce them in five pounds each. Performed.

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The Jury do order the persons following viz. Mr Roger Nield to come into court and do their suit and service for the lands the[y] hould in Salford or the Jury amerce them in twenty pounds each. Performed.

The Jury having examined the Constables' Account Mr Rich^d Whitehead and Mr W^m foden and do find in their hands five pounds, three shillings and eleven pence which said sums the Juriors [*sic*] do order to be paid into the hands of the present Constables, Mr John Withington and Mr Rob^t Slack. Performed.

The Jury do amerce the persons following for not paying the Constables' Tax.

To witt farmers of the tythes—ten shillings.

Mr Caverly	{	in one shilling each person
Mr Geo. Holt		
Mr Thos. Walkden		
Birch Ex'r		

Thos Minshall Esq. in the sum of two shillings.

Affered by us

JOHN WARMINGHAM	{	Gen'
JOHN DUEHURST		

[Half a page is left blank.]

The Borrough or } The Court Leet or Por[tmote] held at Salford
 Village of Salford } aforesaid, the 27th Day of Aprill last in the tenth
 year of his Majestie King George the second's
 Reign over Great Britain and so forth and in the
 year of our Lord 1737.

LAW[RENCE] WILSON Gent'

Deputy Steward of the same

The Names of
 the Jury—

Mr Edward Leech
 Richard Whitehead Gent.
~~John Hallows~~ Gent
 James Barlow Gent.
 William Barlow Gent.
 fforthergill Busfield Gent.
 Nathaniel Snow Gent.
 Geo : Metcalfe 60 ¹ Gent.
 James Dean Gent.
 Randle Ryder Gent.

Daniel Slater Gent.
 John Kellow Gent.
 Samuel Heywood Gent.
 George Barlow Gent.
 Tho^s Holker Gent.
 Jeffry Hart Gent.
 Thomas Wroe Gent.
 Charles Mills Gent.
 George Leech Gent.
 Henry Kighly Gent.

Sam^{ll} ffreeman Gent.

Salford Aprill 27th 1737

The Jury do order Mr W^m Holme, Roger Nield, Mr W^m Barlow, Mr Tho^s Isherwood to come into court and do their suit and service for the lands they hold in Salford or the Jury do amerce them in 20s each,

Mr Isherwood and Mr Hulm performed Mr Roger Neild and Mr W^m Barlow performed.

The Jury do order Mr John Wright Wheelright to refrain after the first day of June next to set any coaches, carts or carriages in the public streets of Salford to the detriment of the inhabitants and others or the Jury do amerce him in five pounds. Performed.²

The Jury do amerce pro Contempt Mr John Bowers, Mr Sam^{ll} ffreeman for their non appearance upon the Jury, being legally summoned, in 5s each.

The Jury do amerce the burgesses who have made default in their appearance at this court in 6d each and all inhabitants defaulting in 3d each.

The Jury do order the present Boroughreeve to cause all these to be fairly written in the Towns book.

¹ Perhaps this means that he was 60 years of age and so exempt from jury service. Hallows' name is struck through.

² Also in margin.

The Jury do order Mr Tho^s Stringer to cleanse and scour the ditch lying betwixt the great Oldfield and the Galley fields in one month's time or the Jury do amerce him in 5s.

Affeed by us

EDW^d LEECH

RICH^d WHITEHEAD

[Page 497 is blank.]

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The Borrough or } The Court Leet or Portm^t held at Salford afore-
Village of Salford } said the 12th Day of October in the eleventh year
of his Majesty King George the second's Reign
over Great Britain and so forth and in the year
of our Lord 1737.

LAURENCE WILSON Gent.

Deputy Steward of the same

The Jury's names

John Wilcoxon Gent.

William Millet Gent.

Richard Bury Gent.

William Aldred Gent.

John Roylance Gent.

William Barrow Gent.

Edward Goddard Gent.

James Bradshaw Gent.

Thomas Chaddock Gent

Samuel Bradshaw Gent

Richard Barton Gent.

Thomas Oldham Gent.

Peter Walker Gent.

Robert Marsden Gent.

Richard Patason Gent.

William Sherrax Gent.

Samuel Worthington Gent.

Boroughreeve Mr John Wilcoxon

Constables { Mr Roger Nield

{ Mr Tho^s Wilcoxon

{ Mr Robert Slack

Mizelayers { Mr John Withington

{ Mr Richard Bury

Misgatherers { Mr Geo. Barlow

{ Mr Henry Brookes

Scavengers for Lower Gate . . { Mr Tho^s Warmingham

{ Mr Tho^s Wakefield

Scavengers for Greengate, Gravel { Mr Peter Walker

Hole { Mr Sam^l Worthington

Officers for Weights and Measures	Jonathan Whittaker
Alefounders	{ Tho ^s Wrenshaw
	{ Rich ^d Bury Gardiner
Appraisers	{ Tho ^s Chadwicke
	{ John Nightingale
Bylawmen	{ Arthur Burgess
	{ Samuel Acton
	{ Randle Ryder
Dog Muzzellers	{ Peter Martin
	{ Joseph Smithurst
Assistants to the Borroughreeve .	{ Mr James Bradshaw
	{ Mr William Millett

The Jury do amerce all burgesses that have made default in appearance at this Court in sixpence each and all the inhabitants in threepence each.

Ordered Mr Adam Crouchley the present Borroughreeve do bring in the Town's Box and Book at the Jury's next meeting or the Jury do amerce him in five pounds. Performed

Ordered that Mr John Withington and Mr Robert Slack Constables for the year last past do bring in their accounts at the ffaring of the court or the Jury do amerce them in five pounds each. Performed

Ordered that all the inhabitants elected for officers for the year ensuing do come in at the ffaring of the court and take their respective oaths belonging to their respective offices or the Jury do amerce them in five pounds each. Performed

The Jury do order the persons following viz : Mr John fletcher, Mr John Wilcoxon, Mr Roger Nield, Mr W^m Barlow and Mr W^m Shaw to come in at the ffaring of the Court and do their suit and service for the lands they hold in Salford or the Jury do amerce them in Twenty pounds each. Performed

Affeer'd by us

JOHN WILCOXON
JAMES BRADSHAW

The Borrough or } The Court Leet held at Salford aforesaid the 19th
 Village of Salford } day Aprill in the 12th year of his Majesty King
 George the Seconds Reign over Great Britain and
 so forth and in the year of our Lord 1738.

LAWRENCE WILSON Gent.

Deputy Steward of the same

The Jury's Names

Henry Dickenson Gent.

Rich^d Gorton Gent.

Edward Leech Gent.

Peter Guest Gent.

Henry Brooks Gent.

Tho^s Warmingham Gent.

John Bowers Gent.

William ffoden Gent.

Tho^s Parren Gent.

Nehemiah Goodier Gent.

John Heys Gent.

Tho^s Wakefield Gent.

George Battersbee Gent.

Daniel Smith Gent.

Tho^s Wright Gent.

Samuel Acton Gent.

Edward fletcher Gent.

Samuel ffreeman Gent.

W^m Hall Gent.

Edmund Mollynex Gent.

We the Jury do amerce all burgesses who have made default in their appearance at this court leet in sixpence each and all the inhabitants making default in their appearance in three pence each.

The Borrough or } The Court Leet held at Salford aforesaid the
Village of Salford } eleventh day of October in the twelfth year of
his Majesty King George the second's reign over
Great Britain and so forth and in the year of our
Lord 1738.

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LAURENCE WILSON Gent.

Deputy Steward of the same.

William ffoden Gent.
Peter Hamilton Gent.
Charles Bramwell Gent.
Robert Slack Gent.
John Clayton Gent.
Hugh Johnson Gent.
Ellis ffarnworth Gent.
John Nightingale Gent.
Thomas Holker Gent.
Peter Martin Gent.
Christopher Holt Gent.
William Christopher Gent.
Evans Gent.

Samuel Roylance Gent.
Adam Chadwick Gent.
Holbrook Pollett Gent.
George Schoals Gent.
Edward Massey Gent.
James Bradshaw Gent.
John Stockley Gent.
Cornelius Robinson Gent.
Tho^s Smith Gent.
Tho^s Simister Gent.
John Birch Gent.
Nathaniel Bolton Gent.
William Buckley Gent.¹

Borroughreeve	Mr Roger Nield Jur.
Constables	{ Mr Rich ^d Patason } Jur.
	{ Mr Tho ^s Parrin } Jur.
Mizelayers	{ Mr Roger Nield } Jur.
	{ Mr Tho ^s Wilcoxon } Jur.
	{ Mr Peter Hamilton } Jur.
Mizegatherers	{ Mr Tho ^s Percivall } Jur.
	{ Mr Wm Barrow } Jur.
Scavengers for Lower Gate . . .	{ Mr Adam Crouchley } Jur.
	{ Mr Tho ^s Warmingham } Jur.
Scavengers for Greengate, Gravel	{ Mr Holbrook Pollett } Jur.
Hole	{ Mr ffancis Baxter } Jur.

¹ Black dots are prefixed to the names of Christopher, Roylance, Chadwick, Massey, Robinson, Smith, Simister, Birch and Bolton, a cross to that of Martin (and also Simister) and letters apparently 'ex' to those of Farnworth, Holt (x only), Bradshaw and Stockley.

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Officers for Weights and Measures	{ Mr Tho ^s Simister Mr Jonathan Whittaker }	Jur.
Alefounders	{ Mr Jos. Smithurst Mr James Ammerson }	Jur.
Appraisers	{ Mr John Nightingale Mr John Wright ¹ }	
Bylawmen	{ Mr Peter Walker Mr William Aldred Mr John Roylance }	Jur.
Dog muzzellers	{ Mr John Brown Mr Tho ^s Wakefield }	
Assistants to the Borroughreeve .	{ Mr Charles Bramwell Mr Robert Slack }	

The Jury do amerce all burgesses that have made default in appearance at this court in sixpence each and all the inhabitants in three pence each.

Ordered Mr John Wilcoxon the present Boroughreeve do bring in the Towns Box at the Jury's next meeting or the Jury do amerce him in five pounds. Performed ²

Ordered Mr Roger Nield and Mr Tho^s Wilcoxon Constables for the year last past to bring in their accounts at the ffareing of the Court or the Jury do amerce them in five pounds each. Performed ²

Ordered that all inhabitants elected for officers for the year ensuing do come in at the ffareing of the court and take their respective oaths belonging to their respective offices or the Jury do amerce them in five pounds each.

The Jury do order the persons as followeth [*blank*] Mr Tho^s Bent to come in at the ffareing of the Court and do their [*sic*] suit and service for the lands he holds in Salford or the Jury do amerce him in five pounds.

The Jury do order that James Dane do in one month's time scaure and [*sic*] a ditch a ditch [*sic*] adjoining to a lane called Ortsall Lane belonging to lands commonly called the Church Lands now in the possession or occupation of the said James Dane as also drain the water off the said land in two or three of the properest places as also to open a drane or ditch across the said close called the Church Land or the Jury do amerce him in twenty shillings. Performed

¹ The Appraisers, Dogmuzzelors and Assistants to the boroughreeve are not marked as sworn. But this indication is irregular throughout.

² In margin in original.

[p.] 504

The Jury do order that all persons that make use of the lane called Ortsall Lane for the convenience of their lands that way do in nine months time jointly and proportionably gravell and amend that part of the said lane lying betwixt James Dean and John Withington or the Jury do amerce them in five pounds. Performed by Dean to his own but as to M^r Booth, M^r Dawson, M^r Stringer, M^r Seddon, are quashed ¹

The Jury do order any person or persons that presume to carry sand, gravell or paving stones from off the warf or stanearst ² in Salford to pay to Charles Bramwell the sum of two pence for each cart load so carryed or intended to be carryed out of the township of Salford aforesaid and that Charles Bramwell do collect and receive the same and at the years end do pay into the hands of the supervisors of the highways all moneys so collected for the use of the highways.

Affeered by us

WM FFOWDEN	} Jur.
I[SAA]C JOHNSON	
ROBERT SLACK	
JOHN CLAYTON	

[*Rest of this last page blank and a good deal stained.*]

¹ In margin in original.

² Stanearst is the name of the river-bank above bridge on Green's map of 1794.

APPENDIX

THE PORTMOOT ROLL OF 30 MARCH 1559

Attention was first drawn to Canon Raines' transcript of this isolated roll in the *Victoria County History of Lancashire*, iv, 207, n. 36 and 209, n. 55. It ought of course to have been printed with the other sixteenth-century rolls which survive, but the first reference merely mentions the existence of the roll in 1857 in the possession of Mr. Stephen Heelis, the mayor of the borough, giving Raines MS. xxxvii (should be xxxviiiB), 389, as authority, and I unfortunately overlooked the second, which quotes the names of the jurors. An attempt was made to trace the original, but neither the family of Mr. Heelis nor his firm of Slater, Heelis, solicitors, were able to find it.

It will be noticed that the rolls which under Henry VIII were still written in Latin were in English by 1559.

'*Salford Port Mot*' held at Salford, co. Lanc. before Richard Molyneux, knt, steward, on Thursday, 30 March, 1 Eliz., 1559 before these jurors¹:

Syr W^m Radclyffe, knt.
Rych. Hunt, gent.
Ad. Pylkynton g^t
Gylbert Bybbye
Ad. Byrome
Geo. Proudlyffe
Rob^t Pendlytone

Thos. Boultone
Jamys Sydall
Thos. Aynesworth
Rauffe Pertynton
Thos. Sorocould
Peter Sedone
Thomas Hunt

The Jurye doth present Ad. Byrome to be dep'tyd synce the last court day and that Rauffe Byrome, son of George Byrome of thage of three years and upward is heyre unto the aforesaid Adam and for his relief doth pay as is accustomed. Allsoe the sayd J. doth present Geo. Byrome to be dep'tyd since the laste court day and that the

¹ In the transcript the names are in one column, but to save space are here given in two. In the blank space to the right of the list of jurors is an early and fuller form of the two affeerors' signatures: Ex^d and agrees with the Port Mot' by us Adam Pylkintun now Borrowreve of Salford and then one of the Jurye, Thom. bolton. Raines copies their signatures which are somewhat rude.

afor^d Rauffe is son and heire unto the sd. Geo. and of the age as ys afor^d and doth paye, etc.

Allsoe the sd. J. doth present Hen. Byrome to be dep'tyd since the laste court daye and that Rob^t B. ys son and heire of the sd. Henry and of the age of 3 years and upwards and doth paye for his relief as is accustomed. Yt is to say a dager¹

Allso, etc Ad. Massie is, etc and Isobel M. is his sister and heir aet. xvi, etc.

Allso, etc Rauffe Radclyffe, etc and Edm^d R. son of sd. R. was his heir aet. 13, but now being departed we present the R^t Worshipful Syr W^m Radclyffe, knt.² to be heire unto the af^d by means of a deede of entaile.

Allso, etc Rychard Gybbassonn being seized of a certain tenement, garden and orchard hath sold the same to Ad. Byrome by means whereof the sd. Jury do present []³ in the afore^d Ad. to be a Burges.

Allso, etc W^m Brooke of Little Bolton is dep^d. Alex. B. aet. 26 is his eldest s. and h.

Allso, etc Rob^t Beck is dep^d and Thos. B. is his s. and h., aet. 6½ years.

Allso, etc. all but Gilb. Bibbye prest^t that Edw. Bibbye is dep^d and that W^m B. is his s. & h., aet. xv.

Allso, etc. Mr James Holme, Gent. is dep^d and James H. is his s. & h., aet. 22 years

Allso, etc. W^m Williamson is dep^d and Jas. W. is his s. & h., aet. 8 years.

[From the original in the possession of Steph. Heelis Esq.,
mayor of Salford, 1857.]

¹ This was also the burgess relief or, more correctly, heriot at Manchester in the sixteenth century (Tait, *Medieval Manchester*, p. 71).

² Sir William Radcliffe of Ordsall was knighted in the Scottish expedition of 1544. He died on 12 October 1568. Included in his possessions were nearly fifty burgages in Salford and Oldfield (*V.C.H. Lancs.*, iv, 212).

³ A word which, as copied by Canon Raines, I cannot read. It seems to end in -ing and to go with 'in.' 'Coming in' and 'Bringing in' were commonly used for the admission of burgesses at Salford.

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SCOTISH FFEILDE

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PREFACE

The Manuscripts.

Scotish Ffeilde exists complete in the *Percy Folio MS.*, now in the British Museum, Add. 27879, and is found on ff. 79-90.¹ Bishop Percy in the cover of the folio relates how he discovered the manuscript at the house of Mr. Humphrey Pitt at Shifnal in Shropshire, 'lying dirty on the floor under a Bureau in y^e Parlour: being used by the Maids to light the fire. It was afterwards sent, most unfortunately, to an ignorant Bookbinder, who pared the margin, when I put it into Boards in order to lend it to Dr. Johnson.' The history of the manuscript and the controversy which it aroused are fully related by Dr. Furnivall in his edition of the work. The handwriting is dated about 1650, rather before than after. With regard to the sheets with which we are now concerned, it should be noted that there are several patches and in some cases the whole page has been covered with coarse tracing-paper.

Percy's Marginal Numbering. The poem, though written in half-lines, is numbered in long lines, and in accordance with this system lines 42 and 160, though incorrectly written as single lines, are correctly numbered as long lines. The numbering is generally in multiples of five, the sole exceptions being lines 86, 126, and 172. In these cases the explanations are simple. "*fol. 82*" was written opposite line 85, and "*summons*" opposite line 125. In the third case "*fol. 84*" was opposite the top line of the page, but this was actually line 171, the second half of 170 being cut away.

Percy made several errors in numbering. Line 10, as numbered by himself, was actually line 11, this being due to a simple slip in calculation. The error was perpetuated until line 55 actually corresponded to line 57, and a further slip was made at line 60 which should have been line 63. These three errors survive until line 126 (= 129), but a line at the top of folio 83 being cut away resulted in line 130 being actually line 132. This error of two then survives to the end of the fitt.

¹ Edited by J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, London, 1867-8. Vol. 1, pp. 199-234.

The second fitt is correctly numbered in multiples of five, the sole exception being line 211, "fol. 90" being opposite line 210.

The *Lyme MS.*, containing an incomplete version of the poem, is in the private possession of the Hon. Richard Legh, Lyme Park, Disley. It consisted originally of six strips of vellum, three and a half inches wide. When Mr. Robson edited the poem in 1855,¹ strips 2 to 6 were pasted together into a roll thirteen feet long, and the first strip was only discovered when his work was already in proof. Since then the strips, with the exception of 5 and 6, have been separated. Exposure to the light has faded the manuscript in parts, especially in the case of the first sheet, which is considerably torn. Lines 1 to 25 (1st half-line) are missing at the beginning, and 30 (2nd half-line) to 36 were already faded beyond recognition in 1855, though isolated letters can still be discerned when the vellum is held up to the light. The handwriting is dated about 1580-1600, fifty or sixty years earlier than that of the *Percy Folio MS.*

The Need for a New Edition and the Basis of the Present Text.

When the *Lyme MS.* was edited, the *Percy Folio* text was unavailable, and when the latter was printed in 1867 a synthetic text was not attempted, though the *Lyme MS.* variants were not altogether ignored. The aim of the present edition is to give a text which will represent the original words of the poem, so far as this can be achieved by legitimate means. Emendations based on a theory of regular alliteration in the original, such as were attempted by Sir Israel Gollancz in his restoration of the text of *Death and Life*, have been avoided, since in so late a poem as this we cannot expect the author to have written mechanically correct alliterative verse, especially when even in the fourteenth century careful metrists allowed themselves considerable laxity in this matter.

The texts of both manuscripts are corrupt, but neither manuscript has been copied from the other, though both are derived from a common original. The *Percy Folio MS.* forms the basis of the present text, as it is complete and definitely more reliable; but the *Lyme MS.* preserves the original reading in numerous cases in which the *Percy Text* is obviously corrupt.

¹ *Chetham Miscellanies*, 1855-6, pp. 1-21.

The aim has been to achieve the right synthesis of the two texts. An opportunity has also been afforded to record a number of errors which were made in the last transcriptions of the manuscripts by the earlier editors, and to supply the text with the necessary explanatory material in the form of notes and glossary in so far as the limits of the present edition will allow.

The Dialect and the Metre.

The dialectal evidence to be gathered from a study of the phonological and inflexional forms is inevitably scanty. The late date of composition and the scribal corruption make it difficult to state with any degree of certainty in which locality the poem was written. By 1570 the spread of the standard dialect had led to the obliteration of many local speech forms, but it can at least be said that both versions are free from northern peculiarities, whether of sound, spelling or inflexion. The use of the ending *en*, however, as the sign of the present indicative plural, points definitely to a Midland dialect; cp. *beene* 183, etc., *callen* 256, *comen* 223, *sitten* 4. In the case of the present indicative singular there are both *eth* and *es* forms, in the ratio of 3 to 1; within the Midland dialect, the former would be typical of the southern half and the latter of the northern half; but since there is so much confusion in the manuscript, it is naturally impossible to decide which of the two types was more typical of the original version.

Other dialectal proofs are lacking, chiefly owing to the modernization of the language; thus there is unfortunately no evidence whether *wh* alliterated with *w* or with *qu*. The internal evidence, however, is more reliable, and whether we accept the statement made in l. 418 as applying to the author or not, it is clear that the poem was written somewhere in Lancashire or Cheshire to extol the glories of the House of Stanley.

The metrical form is alliterative without the use of rhyme either medially or finally. There is the usual central cæsure and four main stressed syllables in the line, three of which generally alliterate together. The commonest type is aa/ax, that is, where the first three stressed words alliterate, while the last one does not. There are actually 309 lines of this type in the text as thus edited, though in the *Percy Folio* text the number of such lines is reduced to 277.¹ The *Lyme* readings, as will be seen, restore the

¹ See *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English: A Dialectal and Metrical Survey*, J. P. Oakden, p. 200.

alliteration in a large number of cases, a fact which accounts for the discrepancy in the figures.

The essential feature of the alliterative line is the linking together of the two halves by alliteration which is normally done by the use of the aa/ax type as just described. On the other hand, there are a few cases in which the alliterating stressed words are placed differently, as, for example, aa/xa 139, 224, 351, etc.; xa/aa 361; ax/aa 31. In a larger number of instances the alliterating syllables are reduced to two: ax/ax 44, etc.; xa/ax 20, etc.; ax/xa 98, 99, etc., such types being not infrequent in Middle English alliterative verse. There are a few lines with four alliterating syllables, such as 94, 250, 295; or with five as in line 9, and there are also some twenty lines of the type aaa/ax, such as 1, 12, etc. *Transverse alliteration* ab/ab is found in line 228,¹ and *introverted alliteration* ab/ba in line 321.

Lines in which the two halves are not joined by alliteration are to be considered metrically defective. Thus aa/xx, e.g. 27, 28, etc., is found at least twenty-two times, a type which is definitely faulty; but *double alliteration* aa/bb, e.g. 34, 130, etc., found nine times in all, is more pardonable, since both half-lines have alliteration. In ll. 6 and 49 the alliteration fails completely. The poet obeys the general conventions concerning the alliterating together of sounds. Thus a vowel alliterates with any other vowel, whereas a consonant normally alliterates with the same consonant. In alliterating *sk* and *k*, e.g. lines 119, 135, etc., the poet is not, however, following the generally accepted practice. On the whole it may be said that his metre is superficially as good as that of the average alliterative poet, but his verse is singularly lacking in freshness and vigour.

The Date of Composition.

Scotish Ffeilde is the easiest of all the alliterative poems to date with any degree of certainty. The earliest time of composition would have been September 1513, but the reference to the death of the Bishop of Ely, ll. 285, et seq., as a recent event, indicates that the poem was composed in 1515, since the Bishop died in March of that year. The work is thus the last alliterative poem to be written on English soil.

¹ In *PF*. but not in *Lyme*.

The Author and his Work.

The reader who is familiar with Middle English alliterative poetry in general cannot peruse *Scotish Ffeilde* without realizing its author's indebtedness to earlier poets. In fact, it leaves the impression of a mosaic derived from older alliterative works. It is marred throughout by the repetition of tags and familiar stock phrases (see notes), and such passages as that describing the dawn (ll. 306-13) are entirely conventional, the individual phrases of which can be paralleled in other poems.

An especially interesting point of indebtedness is to be found in the periphrases for God in ll. 87 and 203—'the prince that *Paradice weldeth*'. There is little doubt that the phrase in question was borrowed from *Death and Life* 13, which in its turn was probably borrowed from *Purity* 195, since there are other points of indebtedness between the two poems. The same phrase is found in *St. Erkenwald* 161, and in a slightly different form in *Wynmere and Wastoure* 296.

The style of *Scotish Ffeilde* is extremely plain and unadorned. The author has no feeling for alliterative rhythms and is at times content with the most puerile expressions. He exercises little economy in his choice of words and his general faults of style are aggravated by the use of otiose words and phrases which were needed to supply the necessary alliterating words in the line. So he writes "all the seemlie saints" 4; "many a louelye lord" 241; "and Shrewsbury that sure earle, the saddest of all other" 67. Similarly, "he was soe keene holden" 102 is repeated at lines 342 and 374 as "that are soe feirce holden" where the adjective is varied to suit the alliteration of the first half-line.

Other tags which are inherited from earlier poems are "that proued was of deeds" 20, which the author uses eight other times (162, 220, 226, 273, 282, 294, 340, 359) with a change of adjective to suit the alliteration (this type of phrase is common in alliterative poems, especially in *The Destruction of Troy* and *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*), and "that feirce were in armes" 56, 110, 124—a phrase of the same type.

His vocabulary owed something to the traditional alliterative diction, though for the most part the words he employed were those of ordinary prose usage of the time. Of words which are generally confined to alliterative poetry and are therefore archaic, the following may be especially mentioned: *carpe* 5, 74, 83, etc.; *hattell*=*hathell* 237; *leede* (knight) 58, *leed(e)s* 109, etc.; *ryncke* 303,

etc.; *sege* 12, *seege(s)* 142, etc.; *wye* 341, 414; *way(e)* 200, etc. Of words which are poetic but not exclusively alliterative, the most notable examples are *burne* 21 etc., *freke* 50 etc., *keire* 154 etc., and *steele-weeds* 363, the latter word occurring elsewhere only in *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* 200 and *The Destruction of Troy* 9634. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that he is as conventional in his vocabulary as in his phraseology, for these alliterative and poetic words were merely the stock-in-trade of any contemporary alliterative poet.

Yet the work has a certain vigour which results partly from the poet's enthusiasm for the Stanleys. He sets forth their achievements at Bosworth and Flodden Field with a fervour born of admiration, and though, judging by his misrepresentations and confused account, he was not present at the battle, he can describe with vigour and realism, and has an eye for the picturesque. Unfortunately, however, he cannot prevent himself from lapsing into conventional phraseology; but despite its obvious defects, his work is not without life.

We have no direct clue as to the identity of the author beyond the reference given in lines 416-20. Mr. Robson takes this to refer to the minstrel who sang the poem, but this seems rather unlikely. Baguley had belonged to the ancient family of Legh for three centuries before the Battle of Flodden, and in view of the fact that one of the surviving manuscripts has been in the possession of the same family since the beginning of the seventeenth century, there is some ground for believing that 'the gentleman' in question was the author. The last line written in the first person is admittedly a conclusion added by the minstrel.

The editor desires to express his sincere thanks to those who have assisted him in any way in the preparation of this edition of *Scotish Ffeilde*: to the Hon. Richard Legh for his kindness in granting him full and unrestricted facilities for studying the *Lyme* manuscript at Lyme Park and for help and advice, to the staff of the British Museum for unfailing kindness shown to the editor when studying the *Percy Folio Manuscript*, to Mr. H. M. McKechnie for his advice with regard to the printing, to Colonel Parker for his willingness to accept this edition for inclusion in a volume of *Chetham Miscellanies*, and finally to Professor E. V. Gordon for help in elucidating a number of difficult points.

J. P. O.

Advent 1934.

NOTE

THE Text is based on the readings of the *Percy Folio MS.*, but where a *Lyme* variant has been adopted, the reading is printed in italics. Words enclosed in brackets represent *Lyme* readings where the *Percy Folio MS.* is damaged or cut away by the binder. Textual emendations are prefaced by †, and manuscript abbreviations are expanded without comment. In the footnotes, all the discrepancies, except merely orthographical variants, between the two manuscripts are recorded ; but when the *Lyme* reading has been adopted in the text and no confusion is likely to arise, the *PF.* variant has alone been given in the footnote. The punctuation is entirely editorial. *F.* = Furnivall.

Scotish Jfeilde

GRANT, gracious God, grant me this time
 That I may say, or I cease, thy seluen to please,
 & Mary his Mother that †maked all this world,
 & all the seemlie saints that sitten in heaven.
 I will carpe of kings that conquered full wide, 5
 That dwelled in this land that was †alwayes noble ;
 Henery the seauenth, that soveraigne lord,
 How he moued in at Milford with men but a few.
 There were lite lords in this land that to that lord longed,
 But of Derby that deare earle that doughty hath beene euer, 10
 & the Lord Chamberlaine that was his cheefe brother,
 Sauage, his sisters †sonne, a sege that was able,
 & Gylbert the gentle with a iollye meanye ;
 All Lancashire, these ladds thé ledden att their will,
 & Cheshyre hath them chosen for their cheefe captaine ; 15
 Much worshipp haue thé woone in warre—their was of their names
 In France & in †fele lands, soe fayre them behappen,
 Sith Brute heere abode & first built vp houses.
 Sir James Blunt, that bold knight, he bowed to their hands ;
 Soe did Sir Edward Poynings that proued was of deeds ; 20
 Sir John Biron was neuer afrayd for no burne liuinge—
 A more manfull man was not of this mold maked.
 Thus with a royall retinewe raked thé forwarde ;
 On this side Bosworth in a bancke thé bred forth their standards
 With a dragon full dearfe that adread was thereafter, 25
 Rayled full of red roses and riches enowe.
 There he bickered with a bore that doughtie was *euer*,
 Richard that rich lord in his bright armour ;
 He *kidde* himselve no coward, for he was a king noble ;
 He fought full freshlie his †foemen amonge 30
 Till all his bright armour was bloudye †beronen.

Line 3. *MS.* masked : maked *F.* 6. *MS.* alyes. 12. *MS.* some : sonne *F.*
 16. woone : one stroke of *n* omitted in *MS.* *F.* 17. *MS.* few : fele *Sheat.*
 25. *Lyme MS.* begins here with "that dred was sone after." 27. *PF.* bore :
Lyme lorde ; *PF.* called : *Lyme* euer. 29. *PF.* held : *Lyme* kidde. 30. *PF.*
 formen. *Lyme* ryght royall and fuerslye he . . . to l. 37. 31. *PF.* berouen.

Then was he dungen to death with many derfe strokes,
 Cast him on a capull & carryed him to Liester,
 & naked into Newarke ; I will mine him noe more,
 But let Drough(t)en deale with all, as him deare liketh. 35
 Then †seized Richmond this realme with all the royall cuntrye,
 & †raigned with royaltie & riches enoughe
 Full twenty fower yeeres in this fayre land.
 He made French men afeard of his fell deedes ;
 They paid him tribute trulie many told thousands 40
 That thé might liue in their land & him their lord call.
 But death at him droue that die must he needs ;
 Thus went he forth of this world this worship(*full lorde*)
 To the celestiall blisse with saints enowe.
 I will meddle with this matter noe more att this time, 45
 But he that is makeles of mercy, haue mind of his soule.
 Then succeeded his sonne, a souerainge most noble,
 That proued was a prince most peerlesse of other,
 That was Henery the †Eighth, our most dread lord.
 When his father, that feirce freake, had finished his dayes, 50
 He made Frenchmen afeard & faire him besought
 That he wold take their tribute & traine them noe further ;
 But he nickeed them with nay & none of it wold,
 For he wold see vnder their seigniory some of their fayre townes.
 Thus he greathes him godly with a grat host, 55
 Full fiftene thousand that feirce was in armes,
 For to fare into Ffrance att their free will.
 Then †left hee in this land a leede that was noble,
 Of Surrey that sure earle, the saddest of all other,
 As lord & leiuutenant to looke this land over, 60
 If any alyant in his absence durst aduenture him seluen
 To visitt or inuade our most valiant realme.
 Then he dressed him to Dover our most dread King,
 With many lords of this land, our Lord giue them ioy !
 Of Buckingham, *that bolde duke*, he was a (*burne*) noble, 65

36. *PF. MS.* said. 37. *PF.* raigine : *Lyme* rayned. 38. *PF.* 24 : *Lyme* fower and twenty. 40. *Lyme* they payd him tributes many tolde thowsand.
 41. *Lyme* landes. 42. *Lyme* nede. 43. *PF.* last letters cut away. 44. *Lyme*
 "to the riche hall of . . ." is clearly visible ; Mr. Robson left blank. 45. *Lyme*
 no moe of this time. 46. *Lyme* but he that is myckle of myght. 49. *PF.* 8th :
Lyme Henry theight. 52. *Lyme* tributes and lem (etc.). 55. *PF.* greathes : *Lyme*
 graces. 56. *PF.* 15 : *Lyme* fullie fourty thowsande that carrie his armes. 57.
PF. to fare : *Lyme* to go. *Lyme* at his biddinge wyll. 58. *PF.* 'lost', a mistake
 for left : *Lyme* arose . . . lorde. 59. *Lyme* others. 62. *Lyme* his moste. 63.
Lyme 'deessed', a mistake for dressed. 65. *PF.* of Buckingham Duke bold he
 was a . . . e Noble : *Lyme* of Buckingham that bolde duke he was a burne noble.

& of *De(yby)* the deere earle *that* hath beene doughtie euer,
 & Shrewsbury, that sure earle, the saddest of all other,
 As a warriour full wise he wends with the vaward ;
 The *noble* Earle of Northumberlande with others full many,
 Thé wende att their will & wrought as them liked. 70
 Thus thê glenten to Callice with great shippes of warre,
 & many *semely sailes were* seene on their masts.
 When thê to Callice comen all this *comely* meany,
 Our *King* full (*of*) courage carpeth these words,
 Calleth to his counsell to witt their wills 75
 On what wise was best his warre to begine.
 Some sett him to a citty that was sure walled,
 & told him of Turwine, a towne that was noble
 & oft had beene assayed with emperour & other ;
 Yet wold it neuer be woone in warr for noe way on liue ; 80
 There was noe wight in this world that win it nay might,
 It was soe deepe deluen with diches about.
 Then our King full of courage carped these words,
 Sayes, " I will seege it about within this seven dayes,
 And win it, or I hence win, with the leaue of our Lord, 85
 Or leaue here my liffe, Lord I you *heete*."
 Thus he promised to the prince that (*paradice weldeth*).
 There were carryages with carts & many keene weapons.
 Then they waward ffull valiantlie advanced them seluen ;
 With trumpetts & tabretts forward thê wenten 90
 Beside the towne of Turwin our tents downe we tilden,
 & seeged it *surely* on all sides about.
 Many a gaping gunn was gurde to the walls,
 Where there fell *at* the first shott manie a ffell ffooder
 Of stones that were new sturrd, for stoutley they shotten. 95

66. *PF.* & of Da . . . the deere Earle he hath beene doughtie euer : *Lyme* and of Derby that deare erle that doughtie hath bene ever. 67. *Lyme* trewe erle ; others. 68. *Lyme* As a worshippfull and wise he royndeth the cowarde. 69. *PF.* nobe ; *Lyme* with others of the same. 70. *Lyme* thê wynde to theire wille wrought as they lyked. 72. *PF.* & many a sellcoth saylor where seene on their Masts : *Lyme* as text. 73. *PF.* seemly. 74. *PF.* our Knight full courage carpeth these words : *Lyme* our king full of couradge carped theis wordes. 75. *Lyme* calleth his counsell him till to weete of their will. 76. *Lyme* warres. 78. *Lyme* to Tirwin. 79. *Lyme* That oft had been assaied both with Emperor and other. 80. *Lyme* for no weede upon lyre. 81. *PF.* nay : *Lyme* ne ; *Lyme* the world. 84. *Lyme* saith ; *PF.* 7. 85. *Lyme* and wyne it or I hence wynde with the help of our lorde : *PF.* or . . . 86. *Lyme* letees I you heete : *PF.* sett. 87. *PF.* 2nd half-line cut away. 89. *Lyme* our vawarde. 92. *Lyme* on sides all aboute ; *PF.* surlye. 93. *Lyme* and many. 94. *Lyme* there they fell at (*PF.* of) the firste shotte many a fell fothir. 95. *PF.* that stones . . . : *Lyme* of stones that were never stirred so stoutlie they shotten.

Now leaue wee our King lying att this seege,
 & carpe of the French King; care him be-happen!
 When he heard how vnkindly his townes they were halched,
 He hyed him to Paris for things that might happen.
 There called he his counsell for to know their minds, 100
 On what wise was best to worke, his warrs to begin.
 He durst not *counter* with our King, he was soe keene holden,
 For all the gloring gold vnder the god of heauen.
 Then his counsell full keenlye carped on this wise,
 Says, "make forth a messenger to the mightye King of Scotts, 105
 & profer him a present all of pure gold,
 & bid him enter into England & *awnter* him seluen;
 He may win it in warre & weld as him liketh;
 There are noe leeds in tha(t) land, to looke him against;
 All bene faren into France that *†feirce* were in armes; 110
 But *†millners and masse preistes, there bene no men elles.*" 110a
 Then the King called a earle that wold a lord noble,
 Sir Delamont that deere duke *that doughtie was euer*;
 He bad buske him & bowne him to goe on his message;
 He *was* as wise of his words as any way else.
 Then that knight full courteouslye kneeled to the ground, 115
 Saies, "I am bound to goe, as ye me bidd wold."
 & tooke his leaue of the King & a *letter* he taketh,
 Shott into a sure shipp & shoggs ore the water
 Into Scotland, I you hett, & there the King findeth,
 & profered him a present of pounds many a thousand, 120
 For to wend to that warr & worke as him liketh,
 & enter into England & weld it for euer.
 There is noe lord in that land to looke him against;
 All were faren into France that feirce were in armes.
 The King was glad of that gold that *the gome* brought, 125

96. *Lyne* at the sedge. 99. *Lyne* he piked him. 101. *PF.* or . . . :
Lyne on . . . 102. *PF.* venter: *Lyne* counter. 103. *Lyne* glaring; under
 god of heaven. 104. *Lyne* in this wise. 105. *Lyne* saith; messenger. 107.
PF. venter: *Lyne* awnter. 108. *PF.* weld it as. 109-110a. *PF.* there is
 noe leeds in tha land saue millers & masse preistes, all were faren into fraunce
 that fayre were in armes: *Lyne* there are no ledes in that lande to looke him
 against; all bene faren into ffraunce, that pured were in armes; but mislners
 and masse preistes, there bene no men elles. 111. *Lyne* an erle which was a lord
 noble. 112. *Lyne* Sir Delamote; *PF.* that was doughtye euer. 113. *Lyne* bid.
 114. *Lyne* he was as wise of his wordes as any were elles: *PF.* he wold.
 116. *Lyne* sayeth; as ye bid me woulde. 117. *PF.* better: *Lyne* the letter.
 118. *PF.* shoggs: *Lyne* shott; *Lyne* (2nd half-line) shoggeth. 119. *PF.* I
 you to hett: *Lyne* I you heete. 120. *Lyne* many thousand. 121. *Lyne* and
 weld as him liketh. 123. *Lyne* no lede. 124. *Lyne* all bene. 125. *PF.*
 that he gan; *Lyne* that the gome.

& promised him full peertly his part for to take,
 That his cozen the French King soone shold it know.
 Then summons he his seeges in sundry places,
 That they byde shold at Blackator in ther best weeds,
 By the (*viiiith day of August*) to know their Kings mind. 130
 There came at his commandement ketherinckes full many;
 From Orkney that ile there came a great host;
 From Galloway a gay lord with a great menie;
 All Scotland thither came to know their Kings mind;
 Many Scotts & Ketherickes bowed to his hand. 135
 Such an host of that nation was neuer seene before;
 Their names were numbered to *nyne* score thousand,
 Truly by their owne tounge, as it was told after.
 Then thé light att a lott the king and his lords,
 That the mighty Lord Maxwell shold moue them before 140
 With *ten thousand* by tale that were tryed of the best,
 To see wether any seege durst sett him against.
 Thus *they* rested in that realme the †rinckes altogether.
 Till thé hard of that battell how it with him happened.
 Then he bowneth him boldlye ouer the broad waters, 145
 & manlye him marcheth to the mill feelde;
 He robbeth like a rebell the right him against;
 But all light on his leeds att the latter ends,
 For killed they were like caytiues, as you shall here after.
 When the commons of the country of this comen wisten, 150
 Then fled they for feare, soe †cruelye they fareden,
 & made aw(*ay with messengers*) to tell my Lord Dacres
 What mischeefe the fomen made in the march ends.
 But he kee(*peth*) him in Carleile & keire wold no further;
 †He wold not meddle with those men for noe mans will. 155
 Then a knight of that countrie that was knowne full wide,

127. *Lyne* full sone. 128. *Lyne* sumoned; *PF.* soeged; *Lyne* sedges.
 129. *Lyne* that they should be at Blacabor. 130. *PF.* top of line cut away.
 131. *Lyne* they come at his comaundment ketterickes full many. 132.
Lyne from a kenché that strange Ile. 134. *Lyne* come. 135. *Lyne* ket-
 terickes. 137. *PF.* 9: *Lyne nyne*. 138. *Lyne* truly by their owne towne.
 140. *Lyne* Lord Mackesfelde should meane him before. 141. *PF.* 10,000:
Lyne ten thousand. 142. *Lyne* sitt. 143. *Lyne* then they (*PF.* he) rested
 in that realm the knightes all togeder: *PF.* *MS.* riggs. 144. *Lyne* how
 that with him happed. 146. *Lyne* and manly him marketh to the mylne
 feilde. 147. *Lyne* robbes. 148. *Lyne* at the later ende. 149. *Lyne* ye.
 150. *Lyne* of their comon. 151–2. *PF.* *MS.* crulye; *Lyne* . . . ledde they
 for fiere . . . elly thé ferdén . . . to wynde . . . Daker. 153. *Lyne* (1st
 half-line omitted) in the Marche ends. 154. *PF.* kee . . . : *Lyne* kepeth.
 155. *Lyne* medle with this ma . . . : *PF.* whitthose (*MS.*) 156. *Lyne* knowen
 was.

One Sir William Baw-bener that *bold hath beene euer*,
 He moueth towards these menie with men but a few,
 Not fully *five hundreth* that the freake followed.
 Then *mett* he with a man that had *four*e hundreth ; 160
 That was bold bastard Hearne that *bashed* was neuer,
 A warriour full wise & wittye of deedes.
 When they were summoned & seene these seeges together,
 Thé were numbred *nyne hundreth*, that was the highest number,
 & thé were ten *thousand* by tale vpon the other partye ; 165
 Ffull vnmeete be *they* mached, Marry them speede !
 Thus they fared ouer the feild their *foemen* to seeke ;
 Neuer rest wold these rangers but alwaies raked forward
 Till they had seene that seege that they sought after,
 All these †skatell Scotts that alwayes scath diden. 170
 Then *nighed the night* that abyde must thé needs ;
 Euery *rincke* to his rest *radly* (*him dressed*),
 Not the mountenance of a mile from their most enemyes.
 Soone after *dayned* the day & the dew falleth,
 The sun shott vp full soone & shone ouer the feilds ; 175
 Birds bradd to the bowes & boldly thé songen ;
 Itt was a solace to see for any seege liuinge.
 Then euery bearne full boldlye bowneth him to his weapons,
 Full radlye in array royally them dressed.
 Our English men full merrilye attilde them to shoote, 180
 & shotten the cruell Scots with their keene arrowes.
 Many horse in that *heape* hurled downe his master ;
 Then they fettled them to *flye*, as false beene thé euer.
 That serueth not forsoothe, who soe truly telleth,
 Our English men full eagerlie fast followed after, 185
 & tooke prisoners prest & home againe wenten.
 There were killed of the Scotts more then twelve score,
 & as many more prisoners were put to ther ransome.

157. *Lyne* Bowmer that bolde hath bene ever : *PF.* hath beene bolde euer. 158. *Lyne* his meany. 159. *PF.* 500. 160. *PF.* *mett* omitted ; 400^d. 161. *PF.* bastard : *Lyne* bashed. 163. *Lyne* those sedges altogether. 164. *PF.* 900^d. 165. *PF.* 10,000 : *Lyne* X thousand. 166. *Lyne* were they matched : *PF.* them mached. 167. *Lyne* thus the faren on the feilde ; *PF.* formen ; *Lyne* foemen. 168. *Lyne* those knyghtes but alway. 170. *Lyne* all those starlishe Scottes that all the scathe deden : *PF.* scaclech. 171. *PF.* niiged they nighe : *Lyne* nighed the night that byde must they neden. 172. *Lyne* every rincke to his rest radly him dressed ; *PF.* ranke—rudlie . . . 174. *PF.* drayned. 175. *Lyne* hilles. 176. *Lyne* brayed. 178. *Lyne* burne—weapon. 180. *Lyne* egerly. 181. *Lyne* skochen the. 182. *Lyne* many a ; *PF.* seape : *Lyne* heape. 183. *PF.* slye : *Lyne* flye—be they ever. 184. *Lyne* yt. 187. *PF.* 12 : *Lyne* xij. 188. *Lyne* and as many prisoners were put to their ransomes.

Thus were thé beaten att the first brayd all that brawling people
& likewise in the latter end, as yee may here after. 190

2^d fitt

Then the mightie Lord Maxwell ouer the mountaines flees,
& kered to his King with careful tydings,
Tell(*eth him the*) truth & tarryeth noe longer ;
Sayth, " I am beaten backe for all my (*bigge*) meny
And there beene (*killed*) of the Scotts I know not how many." 195
Then the Scottish King full nie his witt wanteth,
& sayd, " on who was thou mached, man, by the sooth ? "
He promised him pertlye thé passed not *a thousand*.
" Yee beene cravens," quoth the King, " care mote yee happen !
But Ile wend you to worke, wayes, I you *heete*, 200
Alonge within that land the length of *three* weekes,
& destroy all arright that standeth me before."
Thus he promised to the prince that paradise weldeth.
Then hee summond his seeges & sett them in order ;
The next way to Noram anon then he taketh ; 205
He enclosed that castle cleane round about,
& they defended fast the folke that were within.
Without succour come soone, their sorrow is the more !
The Earle of Surrey himselfe att Pomferett abideth ;
He heard what vn happiness these *harlottes* didden ; 210
He made letters boldly all the land over ;
Into Lancashire beliué he caused a man ryde
To the Bishoppe of Ely that bode in those parts ;
Curteouslye commanded him in the Kings name
To summon the shire & sett them in order ; 215
He was put in more power than any prelate else.
Then the Bishopp boldlye bowneth forth his standards
With a captaine full keene, as it was knowne after ;
He made a way to wend to warne his deare brother
Edward, that egar knight, that epe was of deeds. 220
A stalke of the Stanleys, stepe *of* him seluen.
Then full readilye he rayseth *rinckes* ten thousand ;

190. *Lyme* later. 191. *Lyme* mackelsfeld—fleethe. 193–5. *PF.* holes in *MS.* where *Lyme* reading is given. 193. *Lyme* he no. 194. *Lyme* his *bigge*. 196. *Lyme* his wanted wytte. 197. *Lyme* thy southe. 198. *PF.* 1,000; *Lyme* and he. 199. *Lyme* cowards. 200. *Lyme* I will wynde you to wreke wees I you *heete*; *PF.* sett. 201. *Lyme* and lying within; *PF.* 3. 205. *Lyme* Norham. 206. *Lyme* unclosed. 210. *PF.* scarlotts; *Lyme* unhapp—harlottes. 212. *Lyme* to ride. 217. *Lyme* full boldlie—standart. 218. *Lyme* as he was. 219. *PF.* away to wend: *Lyme* a wee to wynde. 220. *Lyme* repe. 221. *PF.* stepe vpp him selven. 222. *PF.* knights; *Lyme* radlie.

To Scikpton in Crauen then *he come* beliuë ;
 There abydeth he the banner of his deare brother,
 Till a captaine with it came that knowne was full wide, 225
 Sir John Stanley, that stout knight, that sterne was of deeds,
 With *four thousand* feirce men that followed him after,
 They were tenants *that they tooke* that tended the bishoppe,
 & of his houshold, I you hett, hope you none other.
 Euery bearnie had on his brest brodered full fayre 230
 A foote of the fay(*res*)t fowle that euer flew on winge,
 With three crownes full cleare all of pure gold.
 It was a seemly sight to see them together,
Fourtene thousand eagle foote *feteled* in a-ray.
 Thus they cooasten thorrow the countrye to the New-castle. 235
 Proclamation in that place was plainly declared
 That euery hattell shold him hie in hast that hee might
 To Boulton in Glendower all in goodlie haste.
 There mett thé *at* a muster, *men* many a thousand,
 With knights that were keene, well knowne in their contry, 240
 & many a louely lord vpon that londe *light*.
 Then they moued towards the mountaine these meany to seeche,
 These *skatell* Scotts that all they scath didden ;
 They wold neuer rest but alway raked forward
 Till they had seene the seeges that they had sought after. 245
 But they had gotten them a ground most vngracious of other,
 Vpon the topp of a hie hill, I hett you forsoothe ;
 There was noe way in this world might wend them againe
 But he shold be killed (*in the*) close ere he climbed the mountaine.
 When they lords had on them looked as (*long as them liked*), 250
 Euery captaine was commanded their company to order.
 "Tho wee are bashed with this bigg meany, I blame vs but litle."
 Then wee tild downe ouer tents that told were a thousand ;
 At the ffoot of a fine hill they †fetteled them all night ;
 There they lyen & lodged the length of foure daies, 255
 Till euery captaine full keenlie callen to their lords,
 Bidd them fettle them to fight or they wold fare homeward.

223. PF. the comen. 227. PF. 4,000. 228. PF. to the booke: *Lyne* tenants that they tooke that tenden on the bishopp. 229. *Lyne* & omitted. 230. *Lyne* burne—browdered with goulde. 232. PF 3: *Lyne* their. 234. PF. 14,000; *Lyne* egill feete feteled in araye; PF. fettered. 239. PF. muster then: *Lyne* at a muster men. 240. *Lyne* full well. 241. PF. hight. 242. *Lyne* mountains those . . . 243. PF. scattered: *Lyne* skatell. 244. *Lyne* dayled. 248. *Lyne* wee—wynde. 249. PF. a hole in MS.; *Lyne* cloes or he could clymbe the mountains. 250. *Lyne* over them; PF. 2nd half-line lost. 252. *Lyne* though we were bashed of theis burnes. 253-75. This section omitted in *Lyne*. 253. PF. 1,000. 254. PF. setteled. 255. PF. 4.

There company was clemmed & much cold did suffer ;
 Water was a worthy drinke, win it who might.
 Then the Lord Leiuetenant looked him about, 260
 & boldly vnto battell busked he his meanye.
 The Lord Howard, the hende knight, haue shold the vanwarde
 With fourteen thousand feirce men that followed him after.
 The left winge to that ward was Sir Eward Howarde ;
 He chose to him Cheshire, theire chance was the worse ; 265
 Because they knew not theire captaine, theire care was the more,
 For they were wont att all warr to wayte vppon the Stanleys ;
 Much worshipp they woone when they that way serued,
 But now lanke is their losse, our Lord itt amend !
 The right wings, as I weene, was my Lord Lumley. 270
 A captaine full keene with Sir Cutberds banner ;
 My Lord Clifford with him came all in cleare armour ;
 Soe did Sir William Percy that proued was of deeds,
 & Sir William Bawmer that bold hath beene euer,
 With many captaines full keene, who-soe knowes their names. 275
 & if I recon the rerward I rest must to longe,
 But I shall tell you the best *frekes* that therevppon tended ;
 The Earle of Surrey himselfe surelye it guided,
 & the Lord Scroope full comlye with knights full many.
 Yf *ye* wold witt the wing that to that ward longed, 280
 It was a Bishoppe full bold that borne was att Latham,
 Of Ely that elke lord that *epe* was of deeds,
 & nere of blood to that earle that named was Stanley,
 Neere of nature to the Nevills that noble haue beene euer ;
 But now death with his dart hath driuen him away ; 285
 It is a losse to this land, our Lord haue his †sense,
 Ffor his witt & his wisdom & his wale deeds ;
 He was a pillar of peace the people amonge ;
 His servants they may sighe & sorrow for his sake ;
 What for pitty & for paine my pen doth me fayle ; 290
 Ile meddle with this matter noe more att this time,
 But he that is maklesse of mercy haue mind on his soule !
 Then he sent with his company a knight that was noble,
 Sir John Stanley, the stout knight, that sterne was of deeds ;
 There was neuer bearne borne that day bare him better. 295
 The left wing to the rereward was my Lord Mounteagle,

263. *PF.* 14,000. 276. *Lyme* rewarde. 277. *PF.* tokens : *Lyme* frekes—
 tenden. 279. *Lyme* initial & omitted. 280. *PF.* he wold. 281. *Lyme* that was
 a. 282. *PF.* eke : *Lyme* epe. 283. *Lyme* an egg of that bolde erle. 284. *Lyme*
 to the duke that. 286. *Lyme* to the lande—his soule : *PF.* sonse. 287. *F.*
 wate. 294. *Lyme* that stoute. 295. *Lyme* burne. 296. *Lyme* that reward.

With many leeds of Lancashire that to himselfe longed,
 Which foughten full freshly while the feild lasted.
 Thus the rere-ward in array raked euer after,
 As long as the light day lasted one the lands. 300
 Then the sun full soone shott vnder the clouds,
 And it darkened full dimlie and drew towards night.
 Euery *ryncke* to his rest full radlye *him* dressed,
 Beeten fires full fast & fettlen them to sowpe
 Besides Barwicke on a banke within a broad woode. 305
 Then *dayned* the *daie* soe deere god ordayned ;
 Clowdes cast vp full cleerlye like castles full hie ;
 Then Phebus full faire flourished out his beames
 With leames full light all the land ouer.
 All was damped with dew the daysies about ; 310
 Flowers flourished in the feild faire to behold ;
 Birrds bradden to the boughes & boldlye thé songen ;
 It was solace to heare for any seege liuing.
 Then full boldlye on the broad hills we busked our standards,
 & on a *saugh* vs be-side there we seene our enemyes 315
 Were mouing ouer the mountaines to mach vs they thoughten,
 As boldly as any bearnes that borne was of mothers,
 Soe eagerly with ire attild them to meete.
 Then trumpetts full truly they tryden together,
 Many shames in that *shawe* with their shrill pipes ; 320
 Heauenly was their melody, their mirth to heare,
 How thé songen with a showte all the shawes ouer !
 There was gurding forth of gunns with many great stones ;
 Archers vttered out their arrowes and (*egerlie they shotten*) ;
 They proched vs with speares & put many over 325
 That they blood out brast at there broken harnish.
 Their was swinging out of swords & swapping of headds ;
 We blanked them with bills through all their bright armor
 That all the dale dunned of their derfe strokes.
 Then betid a checke that the *Cheshire* men fledden ; 330
 In wing with those wayes was with my Lord Dacres ;

297. *Lyne* to him. 298. *Lyne* fuerslie whiles. 299. *Lyne* reward. 300. *Lyne* on the ground. 302. *Lyne* knight. 303. *PF.* ring ; *PF.* he dressed. 304. *Lyne* feteled. 306. *PF.* darned : *Lyne* dayned ; a smudge over *daie* in *PF.* ; *Lyne* it ordeyned. 309. *Lyne* beames. 311. *Lyne* feildes. 312. *Lyne* brides brayden. 314. *Lyne* we bushed with our standarts. 315. *PF.* faugh ; *Lyne* on a sough. 317. *Lyne* were. 318. *PF.* soe : *Lyne* and we. 319. *PF.* They. 320. *Lyne* many shalmes in that shawe with their shrill notes : *PF.* showe. 321. *Lyne* myrthes. 322. *Lyne* shotte. 324. *PF.* reading cut away. 327. *Lyne* there were. 329. *PF.* derse : *Lyne* derffe. 330. *PF.* shire : *Lyne* cheshire ; *Lyne* felden.

He ffiledd att the first bredd & thé followed after ;
 When their captain was keered away, there comfort was gone ;
 They were wont in all wars to wayt on the Stanleys ;
 They neuer fayled at noe forward that time that they were. 335
 Now lost is their loofe, our lord it amende !
 Many squires full swiftly were *swapped* to the death ;
 Sir John Boothe of Barton was brought from his liffe,
 A more bolder bearne was neuer borne of woman ;
 & of Yorkshire a yonge knight, that epe was of deedes, 340
 Sir William Werkoppe, as I weene, was the wyes name ;
 Of the same shire †*Fitzwilliam* that was soe feirce holden,
 Besides Rotheram that *rinck* his resting-place hadd.
 The barne of Kinderton full keenly was killed them beside ;
 Soe was Hanforde, I you hett, that was a hend sweere, 345
Ffullsewise full fell was fallen to the ground ;
 Christopher Sauage was downe cast that kere might he neuer ;
 & of Lancashire John Laurence, *Our Lord* have their soules !
 These frekes wold neuer flee for noe feare that cold happen,
 But were killed lik conquerors in their Kings service. 350
 When the Scotts & the Ketherickes seene our men scatter,
 They had great yoy of their ioyinge & iolly came downwarde.
 The Scotts King keenlie calleth to him a herrott,
 Biddeth tell him the truth & tarry noe longer,
 Who where the banners of the bearnes that bode in the valley. 355
 " Thé are standards of the Stanleys that stands by them seluen ;
 If he be faren into France the Frenchmen to feare,
 Yett is his standard in that stead with a stiffe captainne,
 Sir Henery Keeglye is called, that keene is of deeds.
 Sir Thomas Gerrard, that iolly knight is ioyned there vnder 360
 With Sir William M(*olynex*) with a manfull meany.
 These frekes will neuer flee for feare that might happen,
 But they will *sticke* with their standards in their steele-weeds ;
 Because thé *bashed* them att Barwicke, that bolds them the more.
 Loe how he batters & beates the bird with his wings ; 365
 We are feard of yonder fowle, soe feircly he fareth,
 & yonder streamer full straight that standeth him beside ;

333. *Lyne* was away. 336. *Lyne* losse. 337. *PF.* snapped. 339. *Lyne*
 burne. 341. *Lyne* warkehoppe. 342. *PF.* figh william : *Lyne* Sir William.
 343. *Lyne* Raderam ; *PF.* knight : *Lyne* rinck. 345. *Lyne* HONFORDE :
PF. hauforde. 346. *PF.* ffull-show : *Lyne* ffullsewise. 348. *PF.* god haue
 mercy on. 349. *Lyne* for feare. 350. *Lyne* they were. 351. *Lyne* sketer.
 352. *Lyne* joyning and jolily. 353. *Lyne* then the skottes king calleth.
 355. *Lyne* who were—burns. 356. *Lyne* stand. 359. *Lyne* Kighley. 360.
Lyne Jarred. 361. *PF.* part cut away. 362. *Lyne* feare of no weapon. 363.
PF. strike. 364. *PF.* busked. 365. *PF.* her : *Lyne* his.

Yonder is the standard of Saint Towder, trow yee noe other,
 That neuer beaten was in battell for bearne vpon liue.
 The *thirde* standard in that steade is my Lord Mounteagle, 370
 & of Yorkshire ffull epe my yonge Lord Dacerr
 With much puissance & power of that pure shire."
 Then the Scottish King carped these words,
 "I will fight with yonder frekes that are soe feirce holden ;
 & I beate those bearnes, the battle is ours." 375
 Then thé moued towards the mountaine & madly came downwards ;
 Wee mett him in the midway & mached him full euen.
 Then was there dealing of dints that all the dales rangen ;
 Many helmes with heads were hewd all to peeces.
 This layke lasted on the land the length of *four* houres ; 380
 Yorkshire like yearne men eagerlye they foughten ;
 Soe did Darbyshire that day, deerd many Scotts ;
 Lancashire like lyons laid them about ;
 All had beene lost, by our Lord, had not those leeds beene.
 But the *care* of the Scotts increased full sore ; 385
 For their King was downe knocked & killed in there sight
 Vnder the banner of a Bishoppe that was the bold Standlye.
 Then they fettled them to *fly* as fast as they might.
 But it serveth not foorsooth, who-soe truth telleth ;
 Our Englishmen ffull egerlye after them followed, 390
 & killed them like caitiues in clowes all about.
 There were killed of the Scotts that told were by tale,
 That were found in the feild *fifteen* thousand.
 Loe what it is to be false & the ffeende serve !
 They have broken a bookothe to their blithe Kinge, 395
 & the truce that was taken *for* the space of *two* yeeres.
 All the Scotts that were scaped were scattered all assunder ;
 They remoued ouer the more vpon the other morning,
 And (*their stooode like stakes*) & stirr durst noe further,
 For all the lords of their lande were left them behind. 400
 Besids Brinston in a *bruick* breathelesse thé lyen
 Gaping against the moone, their guests were away.
 Then the Earle of Surrey himselfe calleth to him a herott,
Bad him fare into Ffrance with these fayre tydants ;

368. *Lyme* St. tandere. 369. *Lyme* burne. 370. PF. 3^d ; *Lyme* lordes. 376. *Lyme* he moved—manly. 378. *Lyme* then there was. 379. *Lyme* hewen. 380. PF. 4. 381. *Lyme* yorne. 382. *Lyme* deyred. 385. PF. race : *Lyme* care. 386. PF. but : *Lyme* for. 388. PF. slye : *Lyme* fly. 393. PF. 15^{teene} ; *Lyme* they were. 395. *Lyme* blessed. 396. PF. 2 ; *Lyme* for the space. 397. *Lyme* farre asonder. 399. PF. half-line cut away. 401. *Lyme* brymstone ; PF. bryke. 402. *Lyme* ghosts. 403. *Lyme* heralde. 404. PF. Reade him farr.

" Comende me to our kinge these comfortable words ; 405
 Tell him I haue *rescowed* his realme, soe right required ;
 The King of Scotts is killed with all his cursed lords."
 When the King of his kindnesse hard these words,
 He saith, " I will sing him a sowle-knell with the sound of my gunnes ! "
 Such a *noyse* to my name was neuer hard before, 410
 For there was shott att a shoote a *thousand* att once,
 That all rang with the rout *roches* & other.
 Now is this ferle feild foughten to an ende !
 Many a wye wanted his horsse & wandred home a ffoote ;
 All was long of the Marx men, a mischeefe them happen ! 415
 He was a gentleman by Iesu that this iest made,
 †Which sayth but as he say, forsooth & noe other.
 Att Bagily that bearne his bidding place had,
 & his ancetors of old time haue yearded their longe,
 Before William Conqueror this cuntry did inhabitt. 420
 Iesus bring *them* to blisse that brought vs forth of bale,
 That hath hearkned me heare or heard my tale !
 ffins.

406. *PF.* restored : *Lyme* rescowed—realmes. 408. *Lyme* of omitted.
 409. *PF.* fowle knell : *Lyme* soulkin. 410. *Lyme* a noyse : *PF.* awise.
 411. *PF.* 1,000. 412. *PF.* rocher. 413. *Lyme* fuirse. 414. *Lyme* on fote.
 415. *Lyme* March. 417. *PF.* which say but as he sayd : *Lyme* which said
 but as ye see. 418. *Lyme* burne—he had. 419. *Lyme* & omitted. 420.
Lyme inhabited. 421. *PF.* vs to : *Lyme* them to thy. 422. *Lyme* and
 heded well.

NOTES.

THE reader is referred to Mr. Robson's Introduction to his edition of the Lyme Text, which has some excellent observations on the historicity of the poet's account.

2. "That I may say, ere I cease, what may please Thee." So rendered by Furnivall, whereas Percy, not perceiving the ellipsis, thought that 'say' was an aphetic form of 'assay', 'endeavour'. *Say* is frequently used with the sense of 'write'.

3. 'And Mary the mother of Him who made all this world.' The antecedent of the relative is contained in the genitive *his*. For other examples of this usage in Middle English, see Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, p. 190, § 302. The original meaning of the possessive pronoun was 'of him'.

masked is an impossible form and could have no connection in meaning with the verb *mask*. The emendation is obvious and natural.

6. If *dwelled* were emended to *lived*, the line would be of the *aa/xx* type. Such an emendation is very probable, but it must not be forgotten that the poet was undoubtedly very careless in his metre. Thus to seek to emend all the lines with *aa/xx* to *aa/ax* would be unjustifiable.

alyses: the form is quite impossible and must be a scribal error for *always*; cp. l. 168 *alwaies*.

8. i.e. August 7th, 1485.

10. Though Henry had few open supporters he was confident of treachery in the enemy's ranks. The Earl of Northumberland in charge of the right wing stood aloof at the vital moment, while Lord Stanley with his Lancashire and Cheshire forces had already joined Henry.

11. The reference is to Sir William Stanley, the brother of Lord Stanley, and Chamberlain of North Wales.

cheefe: 'intimate', a meaning common in the north and in Scotland. See OD. *chief* adj. (6); no other meaning fits so well here.

16-18. The sentence is slightly involved, though the meaning is clear; *name* is used in the sense of *fame*, *reputation*. Translate "much honour have they won in war—their fame has been known in France and in many lands, ever since Brutus abode here and built houses—so prosperous have they been."

17. *few* MS. is unnatural; whereas *fele* (Skeat) is a very probable emendation. Child suggested *fer*, *far*, which is not impossible.

19-20. James Blount and Edward Poynings were among the stoutest supporters of Richmond almost from the beginning and had followed him to France.

24. There is no need to emend *bred* to *bred*, since the form is found elsewhere. The vowel of *bred* is long.

26. The phrase *red rayling roses*, a variant of which occurs in this line, is found in *Death and Life* 24, *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* 119, *The Destruction of Troy* 624.

27. The Lyme reading restores the original phrase; for the other examples of this use of an adj. with *ever*, see lines 66, 112, 157, 183 and 274.

29. The Lyme reading restores the alliteration; *held* was a natural modernization on the part of the scribe, cp. Chaucer L. G. W. Prol. "she kytheth what she is"—quoted by OD.

30. cp. 298 note, where PF. has *freshly* and Lyme *fuersliø*; it is therefore unnecessary to reject the PF. reading. For the emendation of PF. *formen* to *foemen*, cp. l. 167, where Lyme has actually *foemen*, the only sensible reading.

31. For the phrase *bloudye beronen* cp. the OE. Crist 1176 *beam . . . blodigum tearum birunnen*. For other examples of this phrase in ME. cp. *Death and Life* 172, *The Parlement of The Thre Ages* 62, *The Sege of Jerusalem* 599, 1119, *The Destruction of Troy* 7033, etc. Should the MS. reading *berouen* be retained, a parallel may be found in *Morte Arthure* 3946, 3971, *berouene* and *berowne* respectively, though there is little doubt that these forms should be emended to *beronen*.

32. Contemporary records attest the truth of this statement.

ding to death is a common stock alliterative phrase; cp. *Sir Gawin and the Green Knight* 2105, *The Destruction of Troy* 2086, etc.

The Lyme MS. has *then hee* still visible.

33. Richard's body was carried to Leicester, trussed across a horse's back and buried without honour in the Church of the Grey Friars.

The subject 'they' or 'one' is omitted, giving a strangely elliptical sentence. The explanation is probably that a 'relative' understood has been omitted, as is not infrequent in this poem, and is to be understood. Cp. Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar—III*, 7, 1. In this case we have the further confusion due to the omission of the antecedent which is to be implied from *derfe strokes*, i.e. with the blows of those who afterwards cast him. . . . Otherwise *cast* and *carried* must be treated as past participles, parallel with *dungen*; in that case *him* need not be translated.

35. *drough(t)en*: The form is extremely doubtful, though the meaning is clear. *drighthen* OE. *dryhten* would be expected, but a form due to the ON. *dróttin* < **drohtin*, which is otherwise unrecorded, is not impossible.

36. Richmond, i.e. Henry VII.

Percy suggested *sway'd*, but this will hardly do, since *sway* is not used in the sense of 'govern' until the late 16th c. An aphetic form of *assay* would fit, but the meaning is not obvious. Furnivall's suggestion *seized* is excellent.

39–41. The reference is to Henry VII's expedition to France in 1492, when the French found it better policy to pay him to desist than to engage in fighting. The treaty of Etaples was signed Nov. 3rd, 1492.

41. *live in land* is an alliterative phrase of great antiquity; cp. Old Saxon *libbean an thesum landa*. The phrase is current in Old and Middle English.

43. For this alliterative phrase, cp. *William of Palerne* 1555, 4804.

51. *he*, i.e. Henry VIII. The line is peculiar by the sudden change of subject. *And* might be an error for *who*, or *they* may have been omitted after *and*. On the whole, however, it is better to retain the MS. reading and explain the sudden transition as due to the poet's elliptical method of writing. See OD. *and* 8a and b, where *and* is used as the predicted consequence or fulfilment of a hypothesis put elliptically; in such cases *and* means *so that*. Hence the line means 'He made Frenchmen afear'd so that as a result they eagerly entreated him . . .'

52. *lem* is probably the verb 'lame' in the sense of 'to cripple'. It may be a scribal mistake for *lame*, for *lem(e)* would correspond to OE. *lemian*, ON. *lemja*, and does not seem to occur in ME.

53. *nykke with nay* is a common stock alliterative phrase. Cp. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* 706, 2471, *The Sege of Jerusalem* 89, etc.

54. The line is elliptical. The first *their* refers back to the subject '*he and his people*', i.e. the English, whereas the second *theire* refers to the French. The first *their* might be translated 'his'.

55. The Lyme reading *graces* would make very poor sense.

56, 57, 58. The Lyme readings '*carrie: go and biddinge: and arose*' destroy the alliteration in all three cases and are obviously incorrect.

59. Henry's most trusted soldier.

61. For the form *alyant*, a variant of *alien*, see OD.

66. For the Lyme reading with *that . . . euer*, cp. lines 10, 112, 157, 274, 284, etc.

67. The Lyme reading destroys the alliteration.

68. The Lyme reading is obviously corrupt; it destroys the alliteration and makes little sense.

70. cp. Alexander, A., 153, *For to wend at his wyll wherso hym liked*.

71. Henry landed at Calais June 30, 1513.

72. The Lyme reading alone gives satisfactory sense.

73. *comely* restores the alliteration, the PF. *seemly* evidently being copied by error from the previous line.

75. cp. line 100, the first half of which is identical with that of 75.

78. i.e. *Thérouanne*, one of the two important towns captured by Henry, the other being *Tournai*.

80. 'Yet would it never be won in battle for any living knight.' The Lyme *weede* is a scribal error.

81. *nay* adv. 'never' is a preferable rendering to 'nay', the negative expression, though the Lyme reading is *ne*, OE. *ne*. At this period two negatives do not make a positive, so that *nay* 'never' would be expected just as much as *ay* 'ever'.

82. *deluen deepe* is a common stock alliterative phrase.

85. Lyme *and* gives a much more sensible reading than the PF. *or*. *win* (2) 'go away' as used in Northern and Scottish dialects. The Lyme *wynde* is not the same word, but stands for *wende*, OE. *wendan* 'to go'.

86. MS. Lord I you sett; for the emendation to *hett*, cp. lines 119, 229, etc., as well as the Lyme reading which has *heete*.

The Lyme reading *letees* is evidently a scribal error for *leedes* 'men'.

89. 'Then the vanguard'; *the* in this manuscript frequently stands for 'they'; hence the confusion here, 'they' standing for *the* not *thé*.

90. The phrase *trumpetts & tabretts* occurs also in *Cheuelere Assigne* 226, *Piers Plowman* C, xvi, 205, *William of Palerne* 3813.

91. *tilde tents*, a phrase found also in line 253, is of frequent occurrence in alliterative poetry; cp. *The Wars of Alexander* 3860, 4140, *The Destruction of Troy* 1088, etc.

92. *suriye* is clearly a mistake for *surely(e)*, the Lyme reading.

94-5. The reading adopted in the text is straightforward, *that were new sturred* being rendered "that were now newly stirred for the first time". The Lyme reading would be rendered "that had never been stirred before".

98. *halched* 'greeted', probably used ironically.

99. The alliteration in both readings is defective, but the PF. *ax/xa* is preferable to the Lyme *aa/xx*. *he piked him* means "he hastened, departed", see OD. *pike* v. (3).

101. The Lyme reading *or* is due to an error.

102. The Lyme *counter* gives better alliteration and in meaning fits the context admirably. *venter*, 'risk himself', gives good sense, but destroys the alliteration.

103. *gloring*, "gleaming", cp. ON. *glóra*, "to gleam", a word which survives in modern dialects: see EDD. *glore* v. (3). The Lyme reading *glaring* "dazzling, gleaming", for examples of which see OD.

105. For *make forth* in the sense of *send forth* with an accusative, see *make* v. OD. 55 and 87.

MS. *messenge* is a suspicious form and is probably an error for the Lyme *mes-senger*. But *message* is used in the sense of "a person conveying a message"—see OD. *message* sb. (3). *messenge* with *n* would be due to the influence of *messenger*.

See note to l. 112.

107. The alliteration of the line is vocalic and the Lyme reading *awnter* is therefore more likely to be correct. *Venter* is also an incorrect PF. reading in l. 102.

108. The Lyme addition of *it* in the phrase *weld (it) as him liketh* is not essential. cp. 121 . . . 'worke as him liketh', PF., and *weld as him liketh*, Lyme.

109. The Lyme *are* is naturally preferable to the PF. *is*. The Lyme reading

as here given for the 2nd half-line is obviously correct, since alliteration on *l* is required and moreover yields excellent sense.

110. The Lyme reading *bene*, a present tense, is preferable to PF. *were*, a preterite.

PF. *fayre were in armes* does not give good sense, though the words occur in both manuscripts. The same line is found at l. 124 and it is highly probable that this is a repetition of l. 110.

110a. The extra line in the Lyme MS. undoubtedly represents the original reading, whereas in PF. three lines have been reduced to two by scribal confusion. The ll. 109-10 are repeated in a varied form in 123-4, a repetition not inconsistent with the poet's style.

MS. *mislners* is clearly a mistake for *millners*, i.e. 'millers', OE. *mylne*. PF. *millers* is derived from ME. *mill*+*er*.

111. PF. *wold* is an obvious mistake for *was*, the form found in the Lyme MS. cp. l. 114.

112. i.e. de la Motte, the French ambassador. He had visited James IV in May 1512, and returned in November, bringing a ship laden with artillery. In May 1513, the King of France sent de la Motte with four ships freighted with flour and wine, and a ring from his Queen urging James to advance into English territory.

The PF. reading *that was doughtye euer* is rhythmically not so good as the Lyme which is adopted in the text. cp. ll. 10, 27, 284.

113. cp. Wynnere and Wastoure 110 *Whils he busked and boun was one his beste wyse*. cp. also *The Sege of Jerusalem* 183, 674, and *The Destruction of Troy* 2754.

114. A common stock expression in ME. alliterative verse.

PF. *wold* gives no adequate sense and the Lyme *was* is obviously correct. cp. l. 111.

118. The PF. repetition of *shoggs* is unlikely to be correct and the Lyme reading *shott* has therefore been adopted. *shott* has the meaning of 'rush', 'hasten': see OD. *shoot* v. (2). For the form *shoggs*, see the Glossary.

119. *I you heete* is a regular tag found in ll. 86, 229, etc. The addition of 'to' is unnatural if not impossible, and it is significant that it does not occur in the Lyme version.

121. cp. *William of Palerne* 3223, *to wende into werre in world where him liked*.

Lyme MS. *weld as him liketh* would make the whole line correspond exactly with l. 108, but in that case the repetition of *weld* in 122 (Lyme and PF.) would be most unnatural.

123. cp. l. 109.

125. The Lyme reading *the gome* is not likely to be a scribal invention, whereas PF. *he gan* is a typical scribal mistake.

127. Actually his second cousin.

128. For the phrase *summon seeges*, see also l. 204.

129. *Blackator* is for *Borough Muir* near Edinburgh.

131 and (135 and 351). For *kettericks*, *ketherincks*, etc., "caterans", "highlanders", see OD. *cateran*. The forms are difficult to explain in detail.

137. Various estimates of the Scottish forces have come down to us.

138. The Lyme reading *towne* is meaningless; the poet evidently used the common stock alliterative phrase '*telle truly with tongue*'.

139. The general sense is obvious, but the phrase *light at a lott* is puzzling. Child suggested OE. *hlōtan* 'to cast lots' as the origin of the word 'light', but this word does not seem to occur elsewhere in Middle English and the phrase would still be peculiar. The meaning of 'lott' may be "the choice or decision resulting from a casting of lots" (see OD. *lot*. sb. 1, c.), which would fit here. It represents a natural development of the original meaning of *lot*. In that case 'light' is simply the verb 'light' OE. *lihtan*, used in the sense of 'proceed to,

arrive at a place or decision', a meaning common enough, and this seems the only natural solution in the circumstances.

140. Lord Maxwell is an error for Lord Hume, who was defeated at Milfield; see the note to l. 145. The Lyne *Mackesfelde* is an unfortunate scribal error.

143. cp. *The Destruction of Troy* 13061, 'to rest in his rewme'.

The PF. *he* is obviously a mistake for *they*, which is actually the Lyne reading. The Lyne *knights* does not alliterate, and though the same objection does not apply to *riggs*, the form is meaningless. We have therefore adopted Furnivall's suggestion *rinckes*.

145. i.e. The River Tweed.

Lord Hume had entered Northumberland with six or seven thousand men and made a successful raid. But he was overtaken by Sir William Bulmer at Milfield leading an English force who completely routed the Scots.

146. i.e. *Milfield* to the south-east of Flodden.

The Lyne *marketh* is a Northern dialectal form of *marsheth*.

148. The meaning is 'but all (bad luck) descended on his men in the end, for they were killed like caitiffs as you shall afterwards hear'. This use of *light* in connection with the idea of good or bad luck is common. One would instinctively prefer *latter end* to *latter ends*, but there are 14th c. parallels for the use of the plural.

150. Lord Dacre was averse to an immediate attack upon the Scots, if it could by any means be postponed.

comen (Lyne *comon*) is a curious form, but the sense of the passage is quite clear and a word meaning 'coming, approach' is required. The usual form at this period is *come* or *comme*. This must be *come* (sb.) with *n* from the pp. The Lyne *comon* is clearly an error.

151. The PF. *crulye* is a mistake for *cruelly*, the last four letters of the latter form being actually visible in *Lyne*.

152. The letters in brackets are not visible either in PF. or Lyne, and were probably added by Furnivall.

155. *whithose*: I accept Child's obvious emendation *with those*.

157. The Lyne reading is more rhythmical and is undoubtedly correct. cp. l. 112 note.

See note to l. 145. The Lyne reading *Bowmer* is the better spelling for *Sir William Bulmer*.

158. The Lyne reading *his meany* is a scribal error, due to misunderstanding of the passage.

161. i.e. John Heron, the bastard, son of John Heron of Ford, who had trained an army in the Cheviots. He was famous as a soldier.

The repetition of *bastard* is unlikely, and the Lyne *bashed* gives excellent sense.

166. The Lyne *they* is preferable to PF. *them*. It is clear that the *m* of *mached* was responsible for this error.

167. *To fare over the field* is an Old English phrase: cp. Riddle xxx, 8, *faran ofer feldas*.

PF. *formen* is impossible, and the Lyne *foemen* is what would naturally be expected.

170. PF. *scaclech* is an impossible form, and the Lyne *starlishe* is equally unsuitable; l. 243 Lyne *skatell*, as Child suggested, fits here and was probably the word used by the author in this line. A word with *sk*, *sc* is required, and since in PF. l. 243 the scribe altered the form to *scattered*, it seems likely that the word *skatell*, already archaic by this time, was misunderstood by the scribes of both manuscripts.

171. The Lyne MS. restores the original reading; PF. is due to a confusion between the two alliterative phrases *nighe nigh* (draw near) and *nighe the night* (the night approaches).

172. *rudlie* is, as the Lyne MS. shows, a mistake for *radlie* 'quickly'; PF.

ranke, though giving good alliteration, is clearly an error for *rincke*, which has been preserved in the Lyme MS.

174. PF. *drayned* is clearly a mistake for *dayned*, the Lyme reading; cp. l. 306 (Lyme).

176. The same line is repeated at 312. cp. *Death and Life* 74, *Breme birds on the boughes busilye did singe*.

180. It is the English archers who are generally considered to have decided the issue.

The Lyme *egerly* gives a line of aa/ax type with vocalic alliteration and is probably the original reading, but PF. with ax/ax need not be rejected.

181. *shoote* (180) with a long vowel, and *shotten* (181) with a short vowel, make the artless repetition of the same word less patent. The Lyme reading *skothen* is attractive, but the verb *to scotch* 'to frustrate', 'to cripple the action of', does not appear at this period with the sense required. The only defence of the Lyme reading would be to take it as a nonce-word 'Scotched', a pun; this is rather unlikely.

184. For a similar tag and almost identical line, cp. 389.

200. cp. l. 86, where *sett* has to be emended to *heete*; in each case the Lyme MS. preserves the original reading.

The Lyme *wreke* means 'to avenge', 'to obtain vengeance'; *wend*, OE. *wendan* 'to turn', is here used in the rarer transitive sense of 'direct a person'.

205. Norham Castle in Northumberland, near the border, which was thought to be impregnable, was taken in the course of six days, owing to the indiscreet spending of the captain.

206. The Lyme *umclosed*; 'enclosed' is the ME. prefix *umbe* + *close*.

209. Surrey arranged for the English army to meet him at Newcastle by the 1st September. He actually reached Alnwick on 3rd September with thirty to forty thousand men; Hall also mentions the fact that Surrey was at 'Pompfret'.

210. The PF. *scarlotts* destroys the alliteration, which should be on *h*; the Lyme *harlotts* at this period generally means 'rascals', a sense which fits here. The Lyme *unhapp*, ON. *uhapp*, has much the same meaning as *vnhappiness*, 'misfortune'.

215. cp. l. 204.

217. The Lyme *full* (*boldlie*) makes the half-line more rhythmical, but its adoption is not necessary.

219. PF. has *a way* run together by a scribal error.

221. Dr. Robson suggested that *stepe* is OFr. *stipe* (Lat. *stipes*) 'stalk', though there is no example of this word in OD. until 200 years later. PF. *stepe* as a verb gives an impossible sense, whatever punctuation be adopted. On the whole it seems better to take the Lyme reading *stepe of*, 'an offspring' of the Stanley family.

222. PF. *knights* destroys the alliteration and the Lyme reading *rinckes* must therefore be adopted.

The Lyme reading *radlie* may well be original.

223. PF. *thé comen* (pl.) would be distinctly awkward when the previous and following lines have a singular verb. The Lyme reading *he come* has therefore been adopted as being more natural.

228. The Lyme reading gives a better alliterative line and also better sense: 'they were tenants which the Stanleys took who attended on the bishop and belonged to his household'. The PF. *to the booke* is clearly a scribal error.

230. One is tempted to accept the Lyme reading *with goulde*, but the artlessness of the poet is such that the repetition of *fayre* in two consecutive lines is not impossible.

231. The Stanley badge was an eagle.

233. cp. *William of Palerne* 1611, 'þe siȝt was ful semly and louely to se'.

234. PF. *fettered in aray* gives no satisfactory sense, and is obviously a mistake for *feteled*, which has been preserved in the Lyme MS.

237. *hattell*: the normal form is *hathel*, but the other form is not unknown. cp. OD. (*York Myst.* xxx, iii, 293, *hatell*).

238. i.e. the village of Bolton in the valley of Whittingham.

239. PF. *a muster then* represents a corruption of the original reading as the Lyme MS. indicates. Translate 'there they met many a thousand men assembled together'.

241. The Lyme *light* 'descended' gives a much better reading than the PF. *hight*, which does not fit.

243. PF. *scattered* makes very poor sense; for *skatell*, see Glossary.

244. The Lyme reading *dayled* does not alliterate, and in addition to being an unusual form gives no satisfactory sense.

246. et seq. James crossed to the left bank of the River Till and encamped on the Hill of Flodden overlooking Milfield, on the other side of which was Surrey and his army. The English proposed that the battle should be fought in the open plain of Milfield, but James was not to be tempted from his excellent position. Surrey led his army along the banks of the Till, which he crossed at Twizel Bridge and then approached to Branxton to the north of Flodden Edge.

248. *wye in/of this world* is a common stock alliterative phrase.

249. Though OD. quotes *close* as an example of OFr. *clos* 'enclosed place', it is doubtful whether this is the word intended here. The Lyme reading *cloes* suggests that the original had a plural word, and in l. 391 we actually have *clowes* 'cloughs'. Hence it seems likely that *close* is another form of *clowes*. The meaning fits excellently in both cases.

252. For *bashed* cp. l. 161. The Lyme reading *theis burnes* is intrinsically preferable to the PF. reading, but the latter is not by any means impossible.

254. The MS. *setteled* destroys the alliteration and gives no satisfactory sense; *fetteled* 'got ready' is clearly what the poet wrote.

257. *fettle*: Furnivall read *settle*, but a careful examination of the manuscript will show that he was mistaken. The *f* is of exactly the same formation as that in *faire* l. 311 and is crossed in the same way. Line 254, on the other hand, has without question *setteled*.

258. The bad weather experienced at this time very seriously affected both armies.

261. *buske to battel* is a common stock alliterative phrase.

262. The English ranged themselves in four battalions to correspond to the Scottish arrangements. Lord Howard, who was Admiral of England, with his brother opposed the left wing of the Scots, while Surrey led the centre against James; the left was led by Sir Edward Stanley, who was in charge of the men of Lancashire and Cheshire.

265. Sir Edmund Howard was defeated, partly because of the jealousy between the house of Howard and Stanley, and partly because of the superior strength of his opponents.

269. 'Now meagre is their fame', a translation which gives excellent sense. It is surely unnecessary to emend to *loofe*, the word found in l. 336, for which see note.

279. i.e. Henry Scroope, Lord Bolton.

280. The Lyme reading *yf ye* is much preferable to the PF. *he*. In this case *yf ye* begins a new sentence, whereas the PF. reading would merely introduce a continuation of the previous line.

282. i.e. James Stanley.

PF. *eke* is obviously a mistake for *epe*; cp. ll. 220 and 349, where the same phrase occurs.

283. The Lyme reading is most unlikely.

286. The meaning is clear, but the form *sonse* is impossible. It is undoubtedly a mistake for *sense* with the meaning 'life, soul'.

At the time of writing, the Bishop was dead, though the event was still fresh in mind; he actually died on March 22, 1514-15.

287. *wate* might be derived from OE. *hwæt* with the meaning 'brave', but the word is not otherwise found after the middle of the 13th c. The Lyme reading *wale* is undoubtedly correct, and Furnivall's reading *wate* is actually a misreading of the MS. See Appendix I.

wit & *wisdom* is one of the commonest stock alliterative phrases in ME.

289. cp. *William of Palerne* 691, *to sike & sorwe*;—a phrase of frequent occurrence.

292. A repetition of line 46.

294. The son of the afore-mentioned Bishop.

295. *burne* was at this period frequently spelt *bearne* and was apt to be confused with *bearne* 'child', OE. *bearn*.

298. *feild* in this case probably means 'battle'; see *field* OD. 8, a sense well evidenced from 1400 to the end of the 16th c.

PF. *freshly* might be a mistake for *fersly*, but the meaning (OD. 2) 'with unabated vigour' fits admirably, though the Lyme *fuerslie* also gives excellent sense.

300. As it is possible but not customary for all the four main stressed syllables of the line to alliterate together, the Lyme reading ending in *on the ground* may be correct.

For the phrase *the light day*, cp. OD. *light* adj. (2) I. b. . . . 1560. 'it was scarce light daye.'

303. *ring* is a mistake for *rinke*, and *him dressed* of the Lyme MS. is grammatically preferable to *he dressed*.

305. The army spent the night at Barmoor Wood, which is about 5 miles from Flodden Field.

306. PF. *darned* is an impossible form, whereas the Lyme *dayned* (a form recorded in OD.) is a by-form of *dawn* with influence of *day*. The emendation *dauned* or *dawned* is possible, but in view of *dayned* in line 174, the Lyme reading is better retained.

309. The Lyme reading *beames* is a modernization which destroys the alliteration.

311. cp. *Death and Life* 72, 'Fflowers fflourished in the frith'.

314. The PF. reading is the more natural; see the Glossary. *bushed* of the Lyme MS. represents OFr. *buschier* 'to push', but is probably due to scribal error.

315. PF. *faugh* means 'fallow piece of ground', a Sc. and Northern word: see OD. *fauch*; but this destroys the alliteration, and the Lyme reading *soughe* is the more natural, of which *saugh* would be a recognized phonological variant; it means 'swampy place'.

319. The initial *They* in PF. is undoubtedly an error.

The sense of *tryden* is difficult. The poet required a word beginning with *tr-*, but it is clear that he is not using the verb 'to try' in its ordinary sense, which always contains the idea of separating and is not therefore employed with 'together'. See OD. *try* v. 11, 'to use, apply tentatively', a sense current in the 16th c. The poet is really using 'try' contextually without any real reference to the meaning required.

320. 'Many shawms in that wood'; PF. *showe* is an error for *shawe*.

321. *melody* & *mirth* is a common stock alliterative phrase in ME.

322. The Lyme reading *shotte* 'shot' is probably a scribal error, as a variant of 'shout' with a short vowel is unknown.

323-4. The battle is said to have opened with the play of artillery on both sides.

326. cp. *fe blode out barst, The Sege of Jerusalem* 586; the phrase in varying forms is of frequent occurrence.

327. For interesting parallels, cp. *The Wars of Alexander* 957, 'he swings out with a swerd and swappis him to dethe', or *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* 551, 'swiftly with a swerde he swapped of his hede'.

328. *blanked*, occurring in both manuscripts, is difficult to interpret exactly. *blank* and *blanch* are frequently confused in sense. The elementary idea is 'to whiten', 'to make pale'; hence the line may mean "then we bled them (making them turn pale), with our swords despite their armour".

330. The Lyme *Cheshire* is more natural and restores the alliteration.

333. The omission of *keered* in the Lyme MS. is evidently scribal.

334. A repetition of l. 267.

Doubtless this was a plausible excuse for their action. Lord Dacre is not mentioned in this connection in the original State Papers.

336. PF. has *is*, not *in*, as Furnivall transcribed.

In view of the similar phrase which occurs in 269, 'now lanke is their losse', one is tempted to emend *loofe* to *losse*, which is actually the reading of the Lyme MS.; but since the two phrases are nearer in idea than in form, the change does not seem absolutely warranted or even necessary.

337. The Lyme *swapped* gives a much better reading than PF. *snapped*, and is an example of the common phrase *swapped to death*. cp. 327.

squ and *sw* commonly alliterate together.

338. Sir John Booth is mentioned by Hall. See Robson's note to l. 486.

341. He is called Robert Warcoppe by Hall.

342. There is little doubt that the original manuscript had *Fitzwilliam*, *Sir William* in Lyme being due to copying from the line above by accident. See Furnivall's note, p. 229, on the fact that two Fitzwilliams are known to have been slain fighting the Scots at Flodden.

Thomas Fitzwilliam is mentioned by Hall.

343. The Lyme *rinck* preserves the alliteration better than *knichte*.

345. *Hauforde*, i.e. *Han(d)ford*. See Robson's note to l. 500.

346. A corruption of *Fulleshurt*.

347. See Robson's note to l. 504 for the identification of *Sauage*.

348. John Laurence is mentioned by Hall.

The Lyme reading is less cumbersome and moreover preserves the alliteration.

349. The line is repeated at 362.

351. The Lyme *sketer* is a recognized phonological variant of *scatter*.

352. 'they had great happiness in their rejoicing'.

359, 360, 361. See Robson's notes to ll. 528, 530 and 532, for identification of these persons.

362. Both PF. and Lyme readings make good sense; *for feare that* often means 'because of anything that (might happen)'. The Lyme reading seems a little childish. cp. 349.

363. PF. *strike* makes little sense, but the Lyme reading *sticke* with the common meaning 'remain persistently' fits exactly.

stele-weed, a poetic synonym for 'armour', is found in *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* 200.

364. PF. *busked* gives no satisfactory sense and is evidently a corruption of the Lyme *bashed* 'defeated', 'dismayed', 'were confounded'; cp. 161, 252. The situation is that the Scots King is afraid of the Stanleys because he has defeated the other section of the English army and hence has aroused the greater wrath of the Stanleys. *bash* is used transitively, meaning 'to dismay', in which case it would be necessary to emend *they to we*. But the intransitive use 'be dismayed' is frequently found reflexively.

368. Actually it was the banner of St. Cuthbert.

370. Edward Stanley was not Lord Mounteagle at this time.

372. For the phrase *puissance and power*, a mere duplication of a single idea in an alliterative phrase. cp. *witt & wisdom* 287.

377. For the phrase 'in the midway', i.e. half-way: cp. *Morte Arthure* 2682, mett him in the mydwaye' (quoted by OD.).

378. *to deal dints* is one of the commonest stock alliterative phrases in ME.

384. There is no historical doubt as to the truth of this statement.

385. PF. *race* 'onrush', ON. *rás*, makes no sense, whereas Lyne *care* gives good alliteration as well as excellent sense.

391. The battle was actually brought to a close by the oncoming darkness.

393. The English losses were also extremely heavy.

401. Brinston, i.e. Braxton, near Pallin's Burn, the *bruick* in question, unless it refers to the River Till, which is less likely.

Lyne *bruick* is clearly a Nth spelling of *brook*—(cp. *guid* for *good*), OE. *brōc*. PF. *bryke* looks like a form of bridge, OE. *brycg*, but the sense is not what is required. The Lyne reading, though not necessarily this particular spelling, is clearly original.

402. *guests* meaning 'ghosts'. The spelling is evidently due to a scribal confusion.

404. The PF. reading means 'counsel him to go into France', which is unsatisfactory in this context, for the Earl of Surrey would not give advice but issue commands. The Lyne 'ordered him to go' is undoubtedly correct. The sudden transition to the preterite is not remarkable in this poet's style.

406. PF. *restored* makes little sense, whereas the Lyne *rescowed* exactly fits the meaning required by the context.

409. The alliteration requires *sowle* rather than *fowle*, which makes no sense.

410. Not part of the king's speech, but an exclamation on the part of the poet. PF. *awise*, i.e. 'advice', OFr. *advis*, in the sense of 'advertisement' would not fit at all well, whereas the Lyne *noyse* restores the alliteration and gives excellent sense. 'to my name' means 'within my experience'.

412. Lyne *roches* 'rocks', OFr. *roche*, is better than PF. *rocher*, OFr. *rocher*.

413. *ferle* has here its more unusual meaning, 'dreadful', rather than the common signification 'marvellous'. See *ferly*, OD. adj. (2).

415. Marxmen, i.e. the men of the borders.

long of, a phrase meaning 'because of', 'attributable to'; see OD. *long*, adj. (2).

417. As Percy suggested, there has been some corruption here. The Lyne reading is obviously an unsatisfactory attempt to make sense of something that was unintelligible. The PF. can more easily be emended; *say* must be altered to *sayth* and *sayd* to *say*, a well-known form of the preterite of 'see', i.e. 'which says but as he witnessed it'.

421. Several alliterative poems, including *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *Death and Life*, *The Destruction of Troy*, end with this sentiment.

PF. *vs to* is clearly a mistake for *them to* as found in the Lyne MS.

GLOSSARY

In a poem such as this a complete glossary is neither essential nor useful since the forms are generally as in Modern English. All words not readily intelligible have been included, but owing to restriction of space the parts of speech are not indicated unless confusion would otherwise arise.

pt = preterite tense; pp = past participle; sb = noun; vb = verb; OE = Old English; ME = Middle English; OFr = Old French; ON = Old Norse.

alyant **61** 'foreigner' OFr alien.

attild(e) **180, 318** pt 'prepared' ON átlá.

awnter **107** 'to venture' OFr auenture.

bashed **161, 252** pp 'dismayed, discomfited': **364** pt 'were confounded'—used intransitively in a reflexive sense; aphetic form of *abash* OFr abaiss-.

bearne **295**: see under *burne*.

behappen **97** 'befall'; **17** used impersonally (be + happen).

beliue **212, 223** 'quickly' OE *be life.

beronen **31** pp 'over-run' OE berinnan.

bickered **27** pt 'exchanged blows, fought' ME biker (of uncertain origin).

bidding-place **418** 'dwelling-place' (probably a mistake for *biding-place*, for which see OD).

bills **328** 'swords' OE bil.

blanked **328** 'blanched' Old Norman Fr blankir; see note.

bode **355** 'were stationed' pt of *bide* 'wait' OE bīdan.

book-othe **395** 'oath sworn on the book' (book + oath); first reference in OD is 1575.

bowne **113** 'prepare' used reflexively: **145** 'betakes himself' intransitive: **178** 'have recourse to': **217** 'prepare' ON búinn.

bradd(en) **176, 312** 'suddenly moved' OE bregdan.

brast **326** pt 'burst' OE berstan, ON bresta.

brayd **189** 'a sudden attack' OE brægd.

bredd **332** 'onset' same as preceding word.

bred **24** pt 'suddenly moved' OE bregdan.

brodered **230** pt 'worked, embroidered' OFr brouder.

bruick **401** 'brook' OE brōc.

burne **21** etc., 'man, warrior'; *bearne* **295** OE beorn.

buske **113, 261, 314** 'prepare' ON búa-sk.

capull **33** 'horse' ON kapall.

care **385** 'anxiety' OE caru.

careful **192** 'fraught with sorrow' OE cearful.

carpe **5, 83, 373** 'speak' ON karpa (to brag).

cheefe **11** 'intimate': **15** 'commanding' OFr chief.

clemmed **258** 'wasted with hunger'; cp. OE beclēmman: see OD.

clowes **391, close** **249** 'valleys' OE *clōh.

comen **150** 'coming, approach'; cp. OE cyme sb., and cuman vb.

cooasten **235** 'to journey' OFr costei-er; see OD coast vb (5b).

counter **102** 'to engage in combat'—aphetic form of OFr encontre-r.

dayned **174, 306** 'dawned' (see note to line **306**) a by-form of *dawn*.

dearfe **25** 'bold': *derfe* **329** 'violent, vigorous' ON djarfr.

- deered* 382 pt 'injured' OE *derian*.
deluen 82 pp 'dug' OE *delfan*.
dints 378 'blows' OE *dynt*.
dressed 63, 172, 179 pt 'made ready to go'; see OD *dress* vb (5 and 6) OFr *dresser*.
droughten 35 'Lord' OE *dryhten*, ON *dróttin*; see note.
dunned 329 pt 'resounded' OE *dynnan*.
elke 282 'same' OE *ilca*.
epe 220 etc. 'bold', a variant of *ȝepe* OE. *gēap*.
faveden 151 pt 'experienced bad fortune' OE *faran*.
feild 298 'battle' see OD *field* (8).
fele 17 'many' OE *fela*.
ferle 413 'dreadful' OE *færlīc*.
fettle 183, 254, 257, 304, 388 'prepare': pp 234 'prepared for battle'; cp. OE *fetel* sb 'girdle', etc.
flooder 94 'cart-load' OE *fōðer*.
forward 335 'vanguard' (fore + ward sb).
freaks 50 'man, warrior': *frekes* 277, etc. OE *freca*.
freshly 30, 298 'with unabated vigour' OE *fersc* + *ly*.
gaping 93, 402 'open-mouthed' ON *gapa*.
glenten 71 pt 'moved, went'; cp. Swedish *glänta* 'to slide'.
gloring 103 'shining' ON *glóra*.
gome 125 'man' OE *guma*.
greathes 55 'gets ready' ON *greiða*.
guests 402 'spirits' OE *gäst*.
halched 98 pt 'greeted, saluted', a dialectal variant of *halse*, OE *halsian*.
harlottes 210 'rascals' OFr *harlot*.
hattell 237 'warrior' OE *æðel* and *hæleþ*.
hende 262 'gracious' OE *gehende* 'near'.
her(r)ott 353, 403 'herald' OFr *heraut*.
hett 119 etc. 'assure, promise' OE *gehātan*.
hope 229 vb 'believe, think' OE *hopian*.
hyed 99 pt 'hastened' OE *higian*.
iest 416 'story' OFr *geste*, *jeste*.
ioyinge 352 verbal sb 'rejoicing' (joy + ing).
keenlie 353 'in haste' OE *cēnlice*.
keire 154: *kere* 347: pt *ke(e)red* 192, 333 'go' ON *keyra*.
ketherickes 135, 351: *ketherinckes* 131 'highlanders' Low. Sc. *catherein*.
kidde 29 pt 'showed himself' OE *cȳðan*.
kindnesse 408 'natural inclination' (kind + ness).
lanke 269 'meagre, empty' OE *hlanc*.
layke 380 'game' ON *leikr*.
leames 309 'beams' OE *lōoma*.
leede 58 etc. 'man': *leeds* 297 OE *lēod* 'prince'.
light vb 139 'arrive at': 148, 241 pt 'descended, alighted' OE *lihtan*.
lite 9 'few' OE *lȳt*.
long of phrase 415 'attributable to' OE *lang*.
loofe 336 'esteem' OE *lof*.
looke 109, 123 'watch, spy (against anyone)' OE *lōcian*.
losse 269 'fame, renown' OFr *los*.
lott 139 'a choice or decision resulting from a casting of lots': see note: OE *hlot*.
lyen 255 'dwell' OE *licgan*.
macth 316 'to prove an equal match for': *mached* 377 pt 'encountered with equal power' OE *gemæcca* sb.
makles(se) 46, 292 'matchless' OE *gemaca* + *less*.
mean(y)e 242, 261: *menie* 133, 158 'company, followers' OFr *meynie*.

- midway* 377 'midway, half-way' (mid + way).
millners 110a 'millers' OE mylne + er.
mine 34 'mention' OE mǣnan.
mold 22 'earth' OE molde.
mountenance 173 'extent'; cp. OFr montance.
muster 239 'an assembled company of men' OFr mostre.
nay 81 'never' (ne + ay) OE ne + ON ei.
nickeed 53 pt 'answered with nay' OE niccan.
nighed 171 pt 'approached' from 'nigh' OE nēah.
pe(e)rily(e) 126, 198 'readily' aphetic form of OFr apert + ly.
prest 186 'quickly' OFr prest.
proched 325 pt 'pierced' palatalized form of *proke* ME prokien.
puissance 372 'might' OFr puissance.
radlye 172, 179, 303 'quickly' (rad + ly) OE hræd adj.
raked 23, 168, 244 pt 'moved forward' OE racian.
rangers 168 'wanderers' (range vb + er) OFr ranger.
rayled 26 pp 'arrayed' OFr reiller.
remoued 398 pt 'departed' OFr remouv-.
rer(e)ward 276, 296, 299 'rearward of army' OFr rerewarde.
rescowed 406 pp 'delivered from seige' OFr rescou-.
rinck(e) 172 etc.: *ryncke* 303 'man' OE rinc.
roches 412 'rocks' OFr roche.
rout 412 'noise, tumult' OFr route.
saddest 59 'strongest, most stable' OE sæd.
saugh 315 'swampy place' see OD *sough* sb (2) and *sheugh*—of obscure origin.
say 417 pt 'saw' OE sēon.
scath 170, 243 'harm' ON skaði.
sege 12 'man' OE secg.
seignory 54 'sovereignty' OFr seignorie.
seized 36 pt 'took possession of' OFr saisir.
sense 286 'soul' OFr sens.
shames 320 'shawms' OFr chalemie.
shawe 320, 322 'wood' OE sceaga.
shoggs 118 'jogs along' cp. Middle Dutch *schok* 'shake'; see OD *shog* vb.
skatell 170, 243 'dangerous' ON skaði and skǫpall.
sowle-knell 409 'soul-knell' (soul + knell).
sowpe 304 'to sup' OE soper, super.
steale-weeds 363 'armour' (*steel* + *weed*, OE gewæde).
stepe 221 'stalk' OFr stipe.
sticke 363 'remain persistently' OE stician.
surelye 92 'steadfastly': 278 'firmly' OFr sur-e + ly.
swapped 337 pt 'killed at once by striking'—echoic; see OD.
swapping 327 verbal sb 'striking'—from prec.
sweere 345 'squire' OFr esquier.
tended 228 pt 'attended on' aphetic form of OFr attendre.
thé 14 etc. 'they' ON þei-r.
tild(en) 91, 253 'set up' OE teldian.
traine 52 'drag, pull along' OFr trainer.
tryden 319 pt 'played'—see note; OFr trier.
vanwarde 262 'vanguard' aphetic form of OFr avangarde.
vaward 68, etc. 'vanguard' aphetic form of OFr avangarde.
vnhappiness 210 'mischief' (un + happiness).
vnmeete 166 'unevenly' OE unmæte.
vttered 324 pt 'discharged' from *out* see OD.
wale 287 'noble' from vb *wale* 'to choose' ON velja.
ward 264, 280 'section of the army' OE weard; see *ward* OD 13.

- waward* **89** same as vaward.
way **80** etc. 'man' OE wiga.
weeds **129** 'garments' OE (ge)wæde.
weld **108** 'dispose'; **87, 203** 'rule' OE wealdan.
wend **200** 'direct' see note OE wendan.
win **85** (1) etc. 'gain' OE (ge)winnan.
win **85** (2) 'go away'; see OD win vb l. 12; OE (ge)winnan.
wing(e) **264, 280** etc. 'either of the two divisions on each side of the main body or centre of the army'; **331** 'section'—ON vængr.
wye(s) **341, 414** 'man' OE wiga.
yearded **419** pt 'dwelt' OE eardian.
yearne **381** 'eager' OE georn.
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APPENDIX I

NEW POINTS IN THE PERCY FOLIO MS.

8. Read "Moued" instead of "moued".
24. Second half-line begins with the repetition of "in a bancke", subsequently deleted.
31. MS. has definitely "berouen".
38. The first half-line reads "full 24 yeeres in this", with the last two words subsequently deleted.
43. MS. has "this" and the lower half of the letters of "worship" alone visible.
87. The "p" of "paradice" is clearly visible, thus confirming the *Lyme* reading.
94. Read "ffell ffooder" instead of "fell ffooder".
111. MS. has "a Lord Earle" with "Lord" subsequently deleted.
128. "summons" written subsequently in the margin.
138. The *w* in "owne" is badly blurred.
- 143-4. A hole in the manuscript has led to the disappearance of the following letters: "-together; batt-;". These were evidently still visible when Dr. Furnivall studied the manuscript.
151. The "far" of "fareden" is no longer visible owing to a tear in the manuscript.
160. The two half-lines are written as one long line.
185. "full ea" is no longer visible.
201. Read "length" instead of "length".
257. Manuscript has "fettle" not "settle".
287. Read "wale" instead of "wate", as in *Lyme* MS.
 Dr. Furnivall read "wate", but the *l* is clear; it is of exactly the same formation as the second *l* in "full" of line 275; the loop, which is in both cases extremely small, has become closed by the downward stroke of the pen.
336. Manuscript has "is" not "in".
390. Read "englishmen" instead of "englishman", the reading of both manuscripts being the same.

NEW POINTS IN THE LYME MS.

(See also *Appendix II*)

In the preliminary fragment several corrections need to be made in Mr. Robson's transcription. The numbering of the lines refers to the present edition.

38. Read <i>this</i> instead of <i>thys</i>	56. Read <i>fullie</i> instead of <i>fullye</i>
39. „ <i>ffell</i> „ <i>fell</i>	60. „ <i>looke</i> „ <i>loke</i>
47. „ <i>sonne</i> „ <i>sone</i>	63. „ <i>dred</i> „ <i>drede</i>
48. „ <i>pereles</i> „ <i>pereless</i>	63. „ <i>king</i> „ <i>Kynge</i>
49. „ <i>Henry</i> „ <i>Harry</i>	70. „ <i>wynde</i> „ <i>winde</i>
49. „ <i>theight</i> „ <i>theighth</i>	70. „ <i>wille</i> „ <i>wylle</i>
50. „ <i>finished</i> „ <i>fynished</i>	71. „ <i>glenten</i> „ <i>gle . . .</i>
54. „ <i>vnder</i> „ <i>onder</i>	72. „ <i>semely</i> „ <i>small</i>
54. „ <i>theire</i> „ <i>thaire</i>	

In the main body of Mr. Robson's work there are fewer corrections to be made. Of actual errors the following should be noted :

105. <i>Scotts</i> instead of <i>Scottes</i> (line 66 in Mr. Robson's text).	
110 (75). <i>bene</i> instead of <i>be</i>	
110 (75). <i>ffraunce</i> „ <i>Fraunce</i>	
167 (191). <i>seeke</i> „ <i>seek</i>	
193 (242). <i>truthe</i> „ <i>truth</i>	
222 (301). <i>tenne</i> „ <i>ten</i>	
312 (434). <i>brides</i> „ <i>birdes</i>	
312 (435). <i>boldly</i> „ <i>boldlie</i>	
314 (439). <i>wee</i> „ <i>we</i>	
323 (456). omit <i>a</i>	
346 (502). <i>ffullsewise</i> „ <i>fullsewise</i>	
386 (581). <i>kynge</i> „ <i>king</i>	
393 (596). <i>ffiftene</i> „ <i>fiftene</i>	
397 (604). <i>farre</i> „ <i>far</i>	
411 (632). <i>ones</i> „ <i>once</i>	
419 (648). <i>longe</i> „ <i>long</i>	

In 5 cases, 186, etc., Mr. Robson has needlessly emended *the* = (thé) to *they*, and in lines 191 and 273 *there* is unnecessarily emended to *their*.

APPENDIX II

CAPITALIZATION IN THE MANUSCRIPTS

THE capitalization in the *Percy Folio MS.* is according to no fixed rule. At the beginning of the line capitals are only occasionally employed, and within the line there are the following examples of irregular capitalization, which are not perpetuated in the printed text, in which the modern system has been employed throughout.

3. Masked. 4. *Saints*. 5. *Kings*. 6. Noble. 7. Lord. 9. Lords. 10. Earle. 12. Sege. 13. Iollying. 15. Captaine. 19. *Knight*. 22. Mold. 28. Lord. 29. Coward : *King* : Noble. 33. Capull. 34. Naked. 38. In : Land. 41. Lord. 44. *Saints*. 49. Lord. 53. Nay. 54. theIre. 58. Leede. 59. Earle. 60. Lord : Leiu-tenant : Looke. 64. Lords : Ioy. 65. Duke : Noble. 66. Earle. 67. Earle. 69. Noble : Many. 70. Liiked. 72. Masts. 73. Meany. 74. *Knight*. 77. Cittye. 79. Emperour. 83. Courage. 96. Leauē. 102. Holden. 104. Keenlye. 105. Messenge : Mightye. 109. Millers : Masse. 111. Earle : Noble. 112. Duke. 113. Message. 115. *Knight*. 123. Lord : Land. 132. Ile : Host. 133. Lord : Menie. 135. Hand. 136. Nation. 146. Marcheth : Mill. 148. Light. 149. Caytiues. 153. Mischeefe. 155. Meddle : Men. 158. Menie. 160. Man. 164. Number. 172. Rudlie. 173. Mile. 174. Drayned. 182. *Master*. 201. Land. 206. Castle. 218. Captaine. 219. Deare : Brother. 220. Egar : *Knight*. 222. *Knights*. 224. Brother. 225. Captaine. 226. *Knight*. 234. Eagle. 240. *Knights*. 241. Lord. 242. Mountaine : Meany. 249. Mountaine. 250. Lords. 251. Captaine. 252. Meany. 256. Captaine : Keenlie. 262. *Knight*. 266. Captaine. 275. Captaines. 281. Bishoppe. 282. Elke : Lord. 283. Earle. 284. Nature : Noble. 293. *Knight*. 294. *Knight*. 296. Left. 300. Lands. 307. Castles. 309. Leames. 318. Ire. 321. Melody : Mirth. 333. *Captain*. 340. *Knight*. 343. *Knight*. 350. Conquerors. 352. Iolly. 353. *King*. 358. Captaine. 360. Iolly : *Knight*. 373. *King*. 376. Mountaine. 377. Midway. 383. Lyons : Laid. 387. Bishoppe. 391. Caitiues : Clowes. 398. More. 407. Lords. 410. Name. 415. Mischeefe. 419. Ancetors.

On the other hand, capitals are not used in several places where they ought to appear, and these have been restored in the text. The following list is complete :

1. god. 10. derby. 11. chamberlaine. 17, 110, 124, 357. france. 39, 97, 127. french. 51, 357. frenchmen. 57, 404. ffrance=France. 91. turwin. 99. paris. 129. blackator. 152. dacles. 157, 273, 274, 341, 361, 420. william. 180. english. 213. bishoppe. 238. Boulton. 260. leiuetenant. 267, 354. stanleys. 269. our lord. 270. lord lumley. 283. stanley. 338. boothe barton. 340, 371, 381. yorkshire. 341. werkoppe. 343. rotheram. 345. hauforde. 370. lord. 382. darbyshire. 387. standlye. 390. englishmen. 401. brinston.

The same irregular capitalization prevails in the *Lyme MS.* In the printed edition, however, Mr. Robson has, without mentioning the fact, used capitals in the following instances where the manuscript has small letters: 97. frenche. 110, 124. fraunce. 127. frenche. 140. mackesfelde. 157. bowmer. 191. mackelsfeld. 203. paradise. 205. norham. 235. new castell. 238. glendowre. 296, 299. reward. 296. (lord) mountegle. 297. lancashire. 308. phebus. 330. cheshire. 340. yorkshire. 341. william warkehoppe. 344. barne of kinderton. 353. skottes. 357. fraunce frenchemen. 359. henry. 360. tomas. 361. william molynex. 364. berwick. 368. tandere. 370. mountegle. 371. yorkshire. 373. skottishe. 403. erle. 404. fraunce. 420. conqueror.

In the following instances the manuscript has initial capitals where Mr. Robson omits them: 343. Rinck. 356. Standartes. 360. Jollie. 378. Dealling. 412. Rowte. 420. Inhabited.

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